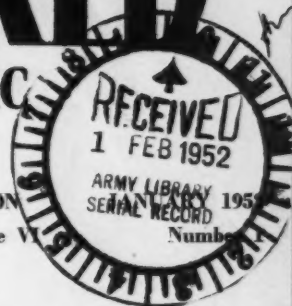


**S.E.ASIA • FAR EAST • PACIFIC**

LONDON

Volume V



### *U.S.A. and Asia*

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## Power Politics in The Philippines

*By* MARC T. GREENE

### *The Malayan Scene*

*By* LILLIAN BUCKOKE

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## Industrial Progress in Pakistan

**By HOWARD FOX**

By HOWARD FOX

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Ten-fifteen in England and the London, Manchester and Liverpool offices of The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China have already opened to the public. At New York the day's work has not yet begun. In the East at Colombo it is tea-time and in Hong Kong business is finished for another day. But wherever business men engaged in the Eastern trade may be, they will find at the nearest branch of The Chartered Bank up-to-the-minute information, skilled assistance and efficient banking services.

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# EASTERN WORLD

## MR. STALIN AND JAPAN

**M**K. STALIN'S New Year message to the Japanese people in which he wished them success "in their brave fight for the independence of their country," has aroused great interest in the West and given rise to various speculations as to whether this unusual step marks the beginning of a new Soviet approach to Far Eastern affairs. The message explains that the Soviet people had themselves experienced "the horrors of foreign occupation, in which Japanese imperialists also took part" and that they, therefore, fully understood the "suffering of the Japanese people." What is particularly striking, is the difference made by Mr. Stalin between the Japanese "imperialists" on the one side, and the apparently quite innocent Japanese "people" who are now made to look as if they were to suffer under the same kind of brutal occupation as that inflicted upon part of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany and Japan. Whatever misgivings one may have about the various aspects of the allied occupation of Japan, the Japanese people have most certainly not suffered under it. In fact, they have done very well out of it. Their national economy was for the last five and a half years heavily subsidised by the American taxpayer, their raw material requirements were generously supplied and sales of their manufactured goods were substantially aided by the United States partly by direct purchase and partly by assistance given in the marketing of Japanese goods abroad. In addition, the Korean war has proved a boon for Japan's trade and industry.

Japan's foreign trade is, according to Mr. Yoshida, Prime Minister of Japan, on a self-supporting basis for the first time since the war. Exports have risen to an annual level of about £650 million and imports stand at about £600 million per year. The greatest drawback in Japan's economic life is the present limitation of trading with China which, even more than South-East Asia, is her traditional market. It is certain, however, that her first steps after the ratification of the peace treaty will be an attempt to find a *modus vivendi* with China, at least as far as trade is concerned. Although Mr. Stalin ignores the fact that the peace treaty is bringing about the end of "the horrors of occupation," it is possible that it is this consideration which prompted him to send his message. A completely independent Japan, unburdened by any rearmament obligations, will have to keep the friendship of China and Russia. If, under American pressure, Japan's Government should hesitate to take this step, a wedge will have to be driven between "the people" whose economy and independence depends on it, and "the imperialists" in the Government.

However, it is just this point in the message—the differentiation between "imperialists" and "the people," which will baffle the Japanese. They will ask under which category fall thousands of unfortunate Japanese prisoners of war who, if still alive, are still kept at forced labour in North-East Siberia. Are they the "imperialists" rather than those who have been put back into their pre-war positions by the Americans? Or are they undergoing the necessary training to become "the people"? In the latter case this transfiguration is taking a very long time, longer than it has taken for the formerly bitterly hated Japanese in Japan who now seem worthy of this sympathetic message from Moscow.

## BURMESE ANNIVERSARY

**O**N the fourth of this month the Union of Burma celebrated the fourth anniversary of becoming an independent, sovereign State. Although conditions in Burma cannot yet be called normal, there is every justification for her leaders to be proud of the achievements of the last year and to look with confidence to the future. Some 4,000 insurgents are still operating, but they are unable to maintain any separate administration or to challenge the authority of the Rangoon Government. To suppress them is a difficult task, as we have learnt from the very similar situation in Malaya, and may, according to the opinion of Thakin Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, take as long as five years. However, a Karen State is soon to be established as part of the Union of Burma and this is bound to contribute considerably to the political pacification of the country.

Economically, too, Burma's situation is gradually improving. Rangoon port installations are now being reconditioned for trade, Mingaladon airport is under reconstruction to make it one of the best in South-East Asia and the Government spinning and weaving factory has been completed and is already producing. Commerce and agriculture are slowly reviving, especially as there has been a great improvement in Burma's internal communications. Her rice exports are still far below her pre-war level of 3½ million tons, but she expects to sell 1,250,000 tons this year.

In international relations Burma's position has been strengthened. From her initial, solely nationalist outlook, she is now successfully endeavouring to follow India's policy of neutrality in the "cold war," and her delegate at the United Nations General Assembly, U Myint Thein, recently made a strong appeal for the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. He challenged the U.N. General Committee's opinion that this question could not be considered as long as the fighting in Korea continued, pointing out that the situation in Korea might not be what it was today, if the new Government in China had been recognised as a member of the United Nations. Apart from its common sense, this speech proved that Burma is on the way to becoming a strong factor in international relations.

## WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

By Harold Davies, M.P.

WITH the Korean tragedy still a stalemate, the Commons moved into Recess until January 29.

The Foreign Affairs Debate revealed: no new approach to the dilemma. Mr. Eden told us, "There is absolutely no change in the position between us and the United States." The Sisyphean efforts for peace in Korea have been going on so long that they now appear to have assumed another aspect in the Cold War.

On both sides of the Floor the stark agony of these delays to the civilians of both North and South Korea is realised. As we left a poorly-attended House on the last day, hopes of an early truce seemed to recede, and many of us wondered if, at the end of the 30-day period, December 27, we would see a complete cease-fire.

On the eve of the Recess the Prime Minister announced that we are not fulfilling the rearmament programme envisaged in Mr. Gaitskell's Labour Budget. "We shall not succeed in spending the £1,250 millions this year, and some of the late Government's programme must necessarily roll forward into a future year." In this graphic manner Mr. Churchill told the Commons that Aneurin Bevan's criticism of the extent of the arms programme in relation to raw materials and man-power was right. Mr. Bevan, "by accident, perhaps not from the best of motives, happened to be right," said the Prime Minister. But there is little hope of an armistice in Korea lightening the burden on the British tax-payer.

No opportunity has yet been given Parliament to discuss the change of policy in Malaya. For three years this armed struggle has yielded few positive results. Members, both Tory and Labour, who know Malaya have warned the Government that, aided by the secrecy of the jungle and civilian collaborators in the underground organisation known as Min Yuen, this campaign could go on indefinitely. While both the present Government and the previous one have said time and again, that our purpose in Malaya is to improve social and economic conditions as a pre-condition of self-government, no definite date for independence has been given. The Colonial Secretary promised Air Commodore Harvey a full statement after the Recess.

Some Members think that the Colonial Secretary will make a change in Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's post. This is thought to be quite likely in view of the appointment of a High Commissioner. Dato Onn bin Ja'afar, President

of the United Malay National Organisation, still urges the British Government to give a date for the day of Malaya's Independence, but, in view of Mr. Lyttelton's intention to appoint a High Commissioner and to change the tempo of the military effort in Malaya, there is no likelihood of an early announcement about self-government.

During the Debate on Christmas Food Supplies the House learned that there was little hope of an immediate increase of either sugar or meat from Australia. Late in 1950, the Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics maintained that if Australia kept up her present rate of population increase, her *per capita* consumption and her present export volume, then by 1960 production of pig meat must be expanded by 78 per cent., mutton by 58 per cent., beef by 40 per cent., milk by 37 per cent., sugar by 28 per cent., lamb by 23 per cent., wool by 10 per cent., and wheat by 7 per cent. Australia's requirements of beef and veal are increasing annually by 11,000 tons, mutton by 4,000 tons, lamb by 2,400 tons and bacon and ham by 800 tons.

In this connection it is necessary to remember the rapid expansion of Australia's industrial production. The total number of people working in her factories has increased from 540,000 in 1938-39 to 908,000 by June 1954. Yet labour is continuing to drift into the cities, and although Australia's labour force has increased by 750,000 in the last decade, primary industry is now employing 40,000 workers less than it did in 1939.

From time to time the Commons is made aware of the growing influence of America in Australian affairs. Although the United Kingdom is still America's best customer, taking over 32 per cent. of total exports, the United States is the next best, taking 15 per cent. of her exports. Compared with the previous year, the value of Australian exports to the United States has more than trebled.

Australia is the largest single buyer of British exports, and is of critical importance to our economy. Events in the Far East and the Pacific, and our food problems focus the attention of the Government more than ever on this part of the Commonwealth. The forthcoming Royal Visit to Australia and New Zealand aims to strengthen the social and economic ties between us.

# U.S.A. AND ASIA

By V. Wolpert

**B**EFORE the Second World War the U.S. attitude towards the problems of Asia was greatly influenced by hostility against the colonising of Asia by European Powers in general, and Great Britain in particular. This attitude was chiefly based on the assumption that colonial rule prevented American trade from competing in the Asian markets on an equal footing with the colonial Powers. During the war many prominent Americans regarded with suspicion British policy in Asia. Even during the final phase of the war leading American experts on Asia completely misjudged the development of the relations between Great Britain and Asia. Philip Jaffe, then editor of *Amerasia*, wrote in his book *New Frontiers in Asia, A Challenge to the West* (published in 1945!) that:

"India's immediate future is, to say the least, not bright. All signs point to her remaining a British colony weakened by the war and poorer than ever . . ." (p. 28.)

Two years later the Indian Independence Act was passed and India became a Dominion of the British Commonwealth.

Owen Lattimore, often described as the best-informed American on Asian affairs, scoffed at American experts on Asia, and wrote in *Solution in Asia* (published in 1945) referring to China that "America's 'expert opinion' is so incompetent that usually when the majority of the experts agree, they are wrong." And he added that "The record of our experts on Japan . . . is even worse. . . ." (pp. 4-5). In this book, which on the whole was a brilliant exposition of Asian problems and the reading of which should be strongly recommended to all American diplomats in Asia, Lattimore became himself a victim of the opinion of American "experts" on Britain's position in Asia. Writing on the Politics of Attraction, Lattimore stated that:

"Russia, America, and China are the three nations which most clearly have a power of political attraction. They are not identical in this respect, but they are comparable. In addition, France may emerge as the war ends with a similar power of attraction. . . ." (p. 88.)

Not a word about Britain. Not a word about India. Later events, however, have shown that following the granting of independence to India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma, the prestige of Britain in South-East Asia and the Far East is higher than that of any other Western Power, and India's power of attraction, although marred by the India-Pakistan tension, has become a force which is not to be underestimated. The leading article in the *New York Times*, August 29, 1950, recognised the position of India and of India's Prime Minister, and went as far as to write that:

"The struggle for Asia conceivably could be won or lost in the mind of one man—Jawaharal Nehru . . . whatever one may think of his opinions—and most of us have been rather unhappy about some of these opinions—no one can deny that he is the most influential non-Communist voice in Asia. He is in a sense the counter-weight on the democratic side to Mao Tse-tung on the Communist side. To have Pandit Nehru as an ally in the struggle for Asiatic support is worth many divisions; to have him as an opponent or even a critic could jeopardise the position of Western democracy throughout Asia . . ."

But the American post-war attitude, which is dominated and dictated by the Cold War with the Soviet Union, demands from all friends of democracy a complete *Gleichschaltung* with American policy. It has no understanding of and strong suspicion for a varied approach to specific problems by other States which maintain friendly relations with the U.S.A., as witness the U.S.A.'s sharp criticism of Britain's recognition of the new regime in China, the American rebuke to Nehru, when, in July 1950, he offered the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union leaders his good offices towards a peaceful settlement in Korea (*The New York Herald Tribune* headlined the report as an "Ill-timed 'peace' move"); and U.S. criticism of India's refusal to sign the Japanese Peace Treaty at the San Francisco Conference. Despite the two Indian Notes of August 23 and 28, which explained in a friendly and very detailed way the reasons for India's decision not to sign the San Francisco Treaty, John Foster Dulles, the chief architect of this Treaty, felt fit to declare on December 2 that India, in this particular matter, seemed to align itself with the Chinese Communists' line.

This speech by Dulles illustrates strikingly the Soviet impact on the decisions of American policy. He explained that the occupation of Japan under surrender terms was justifiable as long as the territorial and disarmament provisions had still to be carried out. By 1950, however, the occupation authorities had completed this task. To perpetuate the super-rule of Japan would have been to pervert the occupation into a sort of imperialism or colonialism. And that, he exclaimed, was just what the Soviet leaders wanted. Then the Soviets could "accuse us in Japan and all of Asia of a new act of imperialism." The continued occupation would create resentment which the Russians would fan into an explosive force which would "blow us out of Japan, leaving Russia to move in."

It is a poor sign when major decisions are being made as "counter-moves" against the policy or activities of another State. Constructive initiative and not counter-moves is the basis of a sound policy.

Owen Lattimore wrote warningly in "Solution in Asia" that:



"We cannot assume that Americans can draw authoritative blueprints for Asia. We cannot assume that Asia will follow some course ideally suitable to us. We are powerful enough—if we prove skilful enough—to influence Asia; but there are also strong tendencies for things to happen in Asia whether we want them or not. Our relations to Asia are reciprocal. If Asia is a problem to us, we are also a problem to Asia. Americans do not remember this nearly often enough." (p.15.)

And he urged in the concluding paragraph of the book to give "Asiatic policy a top priority in America's relations with the world," stating that:

"Asia will become . . . a testing ground for all our theories and ways of doing things. Failure in Asia would doom hopes for a co-operative world order. Success in Asia would prove the survival value of the post-war world order toward which we are working."

## NEW GUINEA—HOPES AND FEARS

By Andre E. Steentjes (The Hague)

THE question as to whether Western New Guinea should be handed over to Indonesia or remain part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands is not an issue to be decided upon by these two countries alone. A third party has a say in the matter—the Papuan population of Western New Guinea. The Papuans have made their wishes quite clear.

Their wishes are governed by two things—fear and hope—the fear of being handed over to Indonesia and the fervent hope of remaining under the Dutch, who—in the words of the Papuan delegation to the New Guinea conference—have ruled them wisely and justly. Indonesians have never felt anything but contempt, often openly expressed, for the Papuan. Papuan fear of Indonesian domination is deep-rooted, and goes back as far as the 17th century when the Sultan of Tidore endeavoured to conquer Northern New Guinea. The coastal population still remembers the slave-hunts and the levies imposed upon them during his fierce and bloody reign.

The Papuans expect that the Dutch Government—now that Indonesia is no longer its main concern—will further help them along the road to complete independence. They realise that they have a lot to learn, but they are willing to be taught—by the Dutch. They fear that, once the Indonesians set foot on New Guinea soil, the fate of the people of Ambon will be theirs also. They hope to be spared this terrible fate and have indicated that they are prepared to fight in the case of an Indonesian invasion. After the Japanese invasion of New Guinea the Papuans killed many thousands of Japanese soldiers. The Indonesian troops would fare no better.

There has never been any doubt in the minds of the Dutch with regard to the *status quo* of Western New Guinea. The hesitating attitude of the Government at the outset of the conflict was a direct result of the fact that both parties concerned—The Netherlands and Indonesia—had their backs against the wall.

Indonesia's position was weakened by Mr. Sukarno's rash statement that on December 27, 1950 the sun would rise over an Indonesian Western New Guinea—or Western Irian as he prefers to call it. The ever-present fear of

the Asian of losing face was the chief incentive for stubborn refusal of the Indonesians to come to terms. At that time a little compliancy would have won them Western New Guinea.

Mr. Mohammed Yamin, Indonesian delegate to the New Guinea conference, stated on arrival in Amsterdam on October 31, 1950, that if Western New Guinea was Indonesian by December 27, 1950, the Netherlands interests in his country would possibly get into a tight place because "the Indonesian people would require an outlet for their hurt feelings." This amounts to nothing but blackmail.

For a long time it looked as if the Netherlands Government would have to give in to the Indonesian threats. Tremendous pressure by all those who had financial interests in Indonesia was brought to bear on them.

However, in the end the Government announced on December 8, 1950, that it was not prepared to transfer sovereignty over Western New Guinea to Indonesia at that moment, on the grounds that it felt responsible for the interests of the autochthonous population and the further development of their country. The precarious international situation was another aspect forcing the Government to take this step.

The Indonesian delegation went home, disappointed and dissatisfied. The threatened disturbances in Indonesia did not occur, for in the meantime two things happened which stayed the hands of the Indonesians.

First, America's resentment of Indonesia's refusal to open its ports to United Nations ships on their way to Korea. Public opinion in the U.S.A., until then strictly in favour of the young Republic, showed a definite tendency to swing to the Dutch side. Inefficient handling of Dutch publicity spoiled the chance of exploiting the favourable situation to its full extent.

Secondly, the Australian Government intimated that having seen the unsatisfactory developments in Indonesia proper, it was against transfer of the sovereignty of Western New Guinea. It did not particularly relish having Indonesia as a neighbour there and, moreover, had a strong suspicion that the territorial claims of the Republic would



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be extended to the Australian part of New Guinea. That it was not far wrong was later shown by the noiseless occupation of the little island of Browse, some months ago, which proved that Indonesia did have definite plans in this direction.

Thus two of Indonesia's staunchest supporters in her struggle to oust the Dutch, suddenly decided to back out, at least for the time being.

Since then Indonesia has launched a number of preposterous claims with regard to Western New Guinea. Among them is that "Papuan, as a result of long association with Indonesian political and cultural influence, have become determinedly vocal in demanding integration within the Republic." This is not true. The Papuans do not want to be part of the Republic, now or ever. They have two good reasons for this. They do not trust Indonesian motives and have no confidence in their ability to undertake the administration of New Guinea.

The motives of the Indonesians are plain. There is gold, tin, oil, coal and iron in New Guinea and they want it. New Guinea would also be a splendid outlet for the over-population of Java.

Owing to an appalling lack of intellectuals, there are not sufficient trained men—or women—to fill all posts in the Republic, let alone send scores of them to New Guinea. The prospects of training new men for administrative or other positions are dim indeed. Indonesia seriously undermined its educational system when it discharged Dutch professors and teachers before it could properly fill the vacancies with Indonesians. A representative of the Government is continually touring the continent of Europe, scouting for talent to fill a number of vital posts. So far the bag has been small and mixed, in spite of the staggering salaries offered, as few were found willing to work in an atmosphere of perpetual unrest and disorder. This is really the crux of the matter, the inability to restore law and order. Once this has been satisfactorily done and the country has settled down, other problems may be taken in hand. However, it will be a long time yet before Indonesia is in a position to tackle any problems but its own.

Indonesia's projects for the development of Western New Guinea boil down to a criticism of the existing Dutch plans. Her own schemes cannot be very precise, for she is in grave need of the necessary experience in this field. The Dutch, on the other hand, have the plans and the necessary experienced men. They, too, lack a large part of the capital needed for the development of the country on a large scale. But there is always money to be had for sound projects.

The Dutch plans are laid down in a report made to the United Nations in 1951 under section 73e of the Charter. Here are a few of them, picked at random:

In the agricultural sector they comprise scientific investigation of the soil; gradual raising of the standard of indigenous agriculture; introduction of new and regular harvesting of commercial crops; propaganda for the cultivation of cocoa and fruit trees by making available inducement goods in the

form of implements, plants and seeds. Another important step forward will be the propagation of so-called "mixed" farms, a combination of agriculture and cattle-rearing. In the field of cattle-breeding an improvement in the breeding of indigenous pigs and increase of the poultry stock will be endeavoured. Fishing is to be promoted by the experimental station for sea-fishing at Sorong, while a scheme for the establishment of a tunny-fishing enterprise with a cannery and fishmeal factory is being studied. Prospecting for minerals will be systematically taken in hand, and as far as transport is concerned, negotiations for the foundation of a coastal trade business with a view to an expansion of the export possibilities for indigenous products are in a far advanced stage; there are plans for the improvement of airfields and in the installations and services pertaining to them, and a road connection from Sentani Lake to the Nimboran region is under construction.

All plans should, of course, be seen in the light of actual circumstances, not forgetting that they cover a period of only one year.

It is not possible at this moment to predict what course the Netherlands Government will steer with regard to the ultimate solution of the *status quo* problem. Owing to changes in the structure of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the words "Netherlands East Indies" will have to disappear from the Constitution. A bill to this effect has been introduced and will come up for discussion in Parliament shortly. New—and perhaps highly significant—is the proposal to replace these words by "New Guinea." If anything, this tends to increase the hope of the Papuans and lessen their fear.

## AFTER MALARIA

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## POWER POLITICS IN THE PHILIPPINES

By Marc T. Greene

**R**EACTIONARY, American-hating elements are on the way back to power in the Philippines as a result of the recent elections for Senators and Provincial Governors. Of the former nine "Nacionalistas" were chosen against representatives of the present Quirino (Liberal) Government, and of the latter three out of every four successful candidates were also Nacionalistas. This unquestionably means the defeat of President Quirino and his Ministry in the general election in 1953. It also means the ascendancy to dominant power, if not to the Presidency itself, of José P. Laurel, chief American-hater, head of the Japanese puppet-government during the occupation, long-time resident in Japan and firm friend of that people and of their leaders.

Such is the position to which affairs in the "Republic" of the Philippines have now deteriorated. For it, each side blames the other. The Nacionalistas contend that they lost the last general election, when Quirino was elected President against Laurel, by "intimidation" and "dishonesty," meaning that Nacionalista voters were frightened away by Liberal police and troops, and that even the votes that were cast were not counted honestly. The Quirino Party, which was the party of the first President of the new Republic, Manuel Roxas, hold that the Nacionalistas also try to intimidate voters, that they seek to overthrow the Republic in their own interests, that they have committed all sorts of violence, and are possibly even associated with Hukbalahaps ("Communist" guerillas) in their attempts to destroy the Government by force.

The fact is that power and power politics of the most flagrant sort always have controlled the Philippines, that no election ever held since a measure of self-government was first granted the Islands has been honest and entirely free from corruption and intimidation, and that both political regimes since the war have been a virtual negation of anything connected with any possible concept of democracy. Moreover, the Spanish-Filipino (*mestizo*) clique that has practically controlled the Philippines for half a century neither lost nor relinquished any of its power through the establishment of a nominal republic.

All that is not, of course, to say that there are not honest men among the Filipino leaders. It is not to say that the President, Elpidio Quirino, who has lately been to Washington and been blessed by the laying-on of hands by President Truman, is not an honest man, at least by Filipino political standards. It is to say that as long as men like Laurel can be "purged" of activities during the Japanese occupation; as long as rich Spanish and Spanish-Filipinos such as Don Andres Soriano, the bosom friend of Spain's Franco, and the multi-millionaire Elizalde

family dominate the economic picture; and as long as Filipino leaders and patriots like Serge Osmena (Vice President with Manuel Guezon before the war) can be relegated to political oblivion for the very reason that they are honest, the term "democracy" as applied to the "Republic of the Philippines" is a tragic mockery.

When the American occupation of the islands ended Spanish tyranny and then had to fight for several years against not-over-grateful Filipinos, internal conditions in the state of the peasantry were worse than ever. The Americans had 60,000 troops in the islands, yet it was not until "Black Jack" Pershing was given a free hand and by his well-known methods "pacified" the islands that the guerilla warfare which had costs thousands of American lives, including that of Commanding General Lawton, was checked.

About that time the American writer, Katharine Mayo, of *Mother India* fame, visited the Philippines and wrote a book which she called *Isles of Fear*, the theme being that under the local tyranny of town and village chiefs, who ruled in medieval feudal fashion and exacted tribute from all and sundry, the masses of the Filipino people existed in a constant state of both physical and economic insecurity.

Allowing for this writer's flair for the sensational, so manifest in *Mother India*, there was little exaggeration in her description of the condition of the Filipino people nor did forty years of American occupation markedly improve it. The Americans expanded and beautified the city of Manila, improved hygiene and sanitation, which under Spanish rule were so bad that Manila was the leper hole of the whole East, built hill-stations, fine hotels, apartments, railways and steamer lines, policed the big towns, and introduced Coco Cola. But the remote districts and the condition of the people in them remained much the same. The living-standard was scarcely higher than in the rest of Asia, and dangerous guerilla bands made life as uncertain for European managers of the lonelier sugar "centrals" as it is in Indonesia today.

This was about the position when the war with Japan started. A Spaniard, Andres Soriano, personal friend of Franco and appointed by him "Consul" in the Philippines, was the dominant figure in the islands, economically and, behind the scenes, politically. He owned the big brewery, gold-mines, some of the hotels, the Coca-Cola concession, mercantile, commercial and transportation concerns galore. He was also a good friend of General Douglas MacArthur who, it is said, had an interest in a little of the foregoing. Soriano was, and is, a friend of the aforesaid José Laurel, who, during the Japanese

occupation, broadcast daily vicious attacks on the Americans and assertions to the effect that "the destiny of the Philippines lay with Japan."

Laurel and the Nacionalistas take the position that, although America granted the Philippines political independence, she still holds them in economic shackles, and there is small possibility of denying that. The point is, though, that were the islands divorced altogether from American economic and financial interests and made economically "independent" by a protective tariff against America, financial and economic chaos would be imminent. Exports to the United States would be cut down and the large American investments either confiscated outright, taxed out of existence—something that is more or less going on as it is—or else rendered worthless.

Nevertheless, it appears that Laurel and the group which insists that the Philippines are the "economic vassal" of the United States because of virtual free trade between the two gradually tapering off in the course of twenty years to a tariff-system, and parity of commercial, and industrial investment, rights and privileges, are about to take over politically.

Yet there is no reason to believe that, in the recent elections, there was more intimidation on one side than on the other, or that relief from lawlessness and social chaos is likely from either Liberals or Nacionalistas. Here is a quotation from a letter just received by this correspondent, from the head of one of the largest foreign firms in the Philippines.

"The party in power (the Liberals) is on the way out, but a change will not necessarily mean improvement in conditions here. The only consolation is, they can hardly be worse. There is widespread graft, corruption and thievery. The honest business man just hasn't got a chance. The so-called 'public servants' are all out to fill their own pockets, to the detriment

of the masses who are too uneducated and indifferent to be able to do anything about it. . . . Conditions continue to be deplorable."

Now, with Laurel in power, either as President or through his "stooges," Americans will be discriminated against in every way possible. So, more or less, will other foreigners because Laurel is very much of the "Asia for Asiatics" ideology.

But he will still have to contend with the Hukbalahaps who derive straight from the war-time guerillas who were pro-American partisans against the Japanese and performed invaluable service in harassing them. Guerilla leaders, such as Tomas Confesor and Luis Taruc, were in constant touch with MacArthur, in Australia, and American submarines made frequent contact with them in obscure coves and inlets on the south-east coast of the islands.

Confesor, an honest man and a patriot who kept up his activities throughout, with a big Japanese price on his head, was discarded after the war and practically died of a broken heart. Taruc is now a "Communist" leader with a Government price on his head, hiding in "the hills and the caves and the rocks" of the interior. The Roxas regime made outlaws of him and his men by refusing to admit them to law abiding (relatively) society or to any part in Filipino affairs. Luis Taruc's head is now worth 20,000 pesos to anybody who brings it in.

No one in the islands supposes that a state of affairs like this can continue indefinitely and it is freely hinted that conditions are such, with Americans and their possessions in peril even in Manila and the larger communities, that the United States will, sooner or later, be compelled to intervene. Certainly American responsibility did not altogether cease when America created the Philippine "Republic."

## TAMING THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

By H. K. Burki

**W**HILE the whole world is rearming and threatens to plunge into another major conflagration, the warring tribes of the North-West Frontier of Pakistan are being slowly tamed and educated. This conversion of the Pathan marks the beginning of an era of hope and promise for one of the worst trouble spots of Asia for many centuries.

The strong man of the Frontier is Abdul Qayyum Khan. An old Congressman, he heads a three-man Muslim League cabinet. This unassuming, keen-eyed, Pathan of Kashmiri stock has, unlike his opposite numbers in the Punjab and Sind, maintained his position without a break.

His worst enemies cannot say that he is corrupt. Though slightly dictatorial in his methods, his achievements are noteworthy. He has handled the Pathans with tact and a strong hand and gave invaluable help to the Pakistan Government in the Kashmir fighting, a cause very dear to all Pakistanis. Along with political stability the province under him has made good headway in the fields of economic and social development.

Canals have been constructed to irrigate the barren but potentially productive areas, and an adequate water-supply and electricity provided for the villages. The Malakand hydro-electric scheme which is already supplying





*Peshawar Street Scene*

power to some of the industrial centres in the Punjab, is being further extended. With the completion of the dual purposes scheme at Warsak in the heart of the tribal territory, not only will thousands of acres be brought under cultivation and make industrial development of the province possible but there will be enough power to meet the demand of the north-west Punjab as well. No less important is the fact that these projects are providing thousands of people with jobs.

The biggest sugar factory in Asia with an annual output of 50,000 tons, has started production in Mardan. The Frontier produces large quantities of peaches, pears, walnuts, almonds and apricots and an Australian expert is now busy organising fruit farming on modern commercial lines.

To rid the province of a mediaeval land tenure system agrarian reforms have been introduced. It is estimated that nearly 400,000 acres of mortgaged land are to be restituted. In addition to the improvement of vital links like the Hazara Trunk and Kaghan Valley roads, construction of new arteries has been taken in hand. While a vigorous drive against crime is being kept up with good

results, corruption in the ranks of government officials is promptly and severely dealt with. Last year over a hundred officials were sacked after trial on various charges.

To meet the demand for education the Peshawar University was inaugurated last November. Peshawar has a women's college and the girls are attending schools in much greater numbers than ever before. Banu Kohat are to have good hospitals, dispensaries have been opened in the villages and medical assistance in out-of-the-way places provided by mobile units. A women's hospital in Peshawar was taken over by the government last October and £30,000 is to be spent on its expansion. The emancipation of women is, however, still in embryo: it is a land of men only. In the streets of Peshawar you come across only an odd woman or two, burqa-clad, a sort of mobile tent. Girls are attending schools, but rarely unveiled. In the towns, women are placed behind the four walls of the house to rear children.

The development plans of the Frontier are quite ambitious and impressive. But the province cannot balance its budget for some time to come, and then there are not enough people qualified to put these plans through. To overcome these difficulties, loans have been taken from the Central Government and technical aid from outside the country. There are many Europeans, mostly British, working in the Frontier as engineers, doctors and administrators, and the Pathan looks upon them as friends helping to build up his country. In the meantime scores of promising students have been sent abroad to Britain and America for higher studies.

Afghanistan's propaganda in the tribal territory seems to be a sheer nuisance. Pakistanis claim—with a good deal of justification—that India initiated and backed this campaign in order to divert their attention from Kashmir. It is true that with a view to inciting the tribesmen the Afghan levies have made border raids quite frequently during the past six months or so, but the shrewd Pathans believe that their future lies with Pakistan, and they look to Karachi rather than Kabul.

The tribesmen are fairly quiet these days. The small-scale factories in the Kohat Pass are still turning out copies of Webley and .303 rifles. A lot has been said about these weapons but except for their appearance, copied

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the last detail, they are not as good as the originals. No wonder the tribesmen have been known to give their life for a service rifle.

The Pathans as a whole have a long way to go yet. Steeped in their age-old prejudices as they are, they cannot be rushed. But they show a definite inclination towards a settled and peaceful life. A gradual change in their

attitude towards life is being effected by providing greater educational facilities, better opportunities for earning an honest living and an all-round development of their territory. This progress, especially in the social sphere, is slow but sure. It may take a good deal of time but once tamed and educated, the hardy and virile Pathans will prove a great asset to the young dominion.

## AFGHANISTAN TODAY

*By Gordon Graham*

**K**ABUL is one of the few Asian capitals in which time has not quickened its pace from a walk to a run in the last decade. The Afghans, poor and proud, still look out from their hilly fastnesses on a view which to them differs little from that of the last 100 years.

The vital changes which the new Asia brought to Afghanistan's border—the departure of the British and the arrival of Pakistan—did not, as it might have done, put an end to the history of conflict on the fabulous North-West Frontier. Rather is sharpened that conflict and brought Afghanistan out of its corner ready to fight. It also turned Afghan eyes instinctively in a new direction—towards the U.S.S.R., its vast, unknown, but not unfriendly northern neighbour.

This slight but definite change in orientation is largely the outcome of Kabul's poor relations with Karachi. This is the one issue of foreign policy which dominates all others in the Afghan's view. It centres on the future of the seven million Pakhtoons now living on Pakistani soil as Pakistani citizens.

The Afghans say that historically these people are Afghans. They argue that Pakistan inherited them only because Britain had kept them so long in subjection—a subjection which Afghanistan never accepted. In fact, says Kabul, this subjection was not complete until Pakistan took over, as shown by the fact that the Pakhtoon land on the Indian side of the Durand Line of 1893 was until 1947 known as the "Independent Tribal Territories."

Nor, according to Afghan opinion, was the Durand Line a voluntary agreement in any case. It was imposed on Amir Abdurahman Khan by the British, who, having failed to conquer Afghanistan, turned to the creating of internal dissensions among the ruling family of the country. The British capped their iniquitous activities, according to Afghan history books, by handing over the Pakhtoons to Pakistan, in spite of the promises made to the Afghan Foreign Ministry.

The Afghans refer to the 1947 referendum in the North-West Frontier Province and the tribal areas as "farfarcial." They claim that the centres of voting were in-

accessible to most Pakhtoons; and that only a fraction of the population voted. Today Afghanistan dares Pakistan to hold a fair plebiscite among the Pakhtoons on the issue of Pakistan versus Pakhtoonistan. Can Afghanistan be blamed for today supporting a people who are racially and linguistically their own brothers, asks Kabul? Afghanistan, it is emphasised, does not wish to annex the tribal areas, but considers that their demand for autonomy is being crushed.

Afghanistan's attitude to Pakistan today resembles in temper Pakistan's own attitude to India. Its outstanding characteristic is a readiness to fight; but the Afghans are not making systematic defence preparations. With them it is an inner conviction and pride that if need be they will fight and win.

According to observers, this attitude will not crystallise into anything more than the present unfriendliness; it will not, on the other hand, improve and if Pakistan were to handle Kabul without due restraint, some kind of war is not out of the question. The Afghans have taken very much to heart the bombing of Moghalgai on June 19, 1949, and claim that border clashes recently at places such as Spin-Boldak and Baqi were armed attacks by Pakistan on Afghan soil.

There is, however, one over-riding reason why Afghanistan's heroics are likely to remain verbal—Pakistan holds her economically by the throat. Almost all goods coming to Afghanistan have to pass through Karachi, where, according to sources in Kabul, they are detained on frivolous excuses until "the textiles are rotten, the glassware shattered, and the medical goods in an advanced state of deterioration."

This has led some observers to believe that Afghanistan will try to make itself independent of Karachi by an ever closer economic co-operation with Soviet Russia, although many of Afghanistan's needs are not apparently available in Russia. Petroleum is now supplied by the Soviet firm of Vistorg, as are sugar, cotton, piece-goods and glassware. In return, Afghanistan sends to Russia wool and hides, making an exact balance of trade.

For some years, too, the Russian weekly air service has been the only international air route into Kabul. (A projected route from New Delhi has been held up for many months by Pakistani objections, though a proving flight by a circuitous route via Zahidan in Iran has now been permitted.) Afghan traders understandably prefer the Soviet route to transit through a hostile Pakistan.

Official circles in Kabul claim that relations with Soviet Russia are purely economic, and are quite certain that Russia has no designs on Afghanistan. They are equally certain that the Afghans, as zealous Muslims, are impervious to the arguments of Communism. There is no Communist Party in Afghanistan. Afghans place great faith in the Russia-Afghan Non-Aggression Pact, but they are ready to fight the Russians too, should they ever debouch into Afghanistan from their well-developed railheads of Termez and Kushk.

The Russians, on their side, are suspicious of alleged secret American activities in Afghanistan. Six months ago *Pravda* published a story to the effect that the Americans have received permission to build military airfields at Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Maimana, Shibarghan and Mazar-i-Sharif. Even TASS admitted, however, that the story had originated in Teheran, and implied that it might be unreliable. Generally Moscow omits Afghanistan from its denunciations of "reactionary Asian nations," such as Iran or Turkey.

Meanwhile, in such moments as it is not absorbed in jousting with Pakistan, Afghanistan is looking to its

internal development with whatever resources its limited economy can spare. The biggest economic development scheme is the dam across the Helmand River, which is being constructed near Kandahar by an American firm. This dam, when ready, will enable cultivation of large areas of alluvial but parched land of Grishk (Kandahar). Alongside of this, schemes are in hand for extended education, modernisation of agriculture and industrialisation. In the face of the backwardness of the people and the lack of resources, however, these schemes move slowly.

The almost complete lack of democratic awareness among the majority of the 12,000,000 Afghanistan people is an important key to the economic and political future of the country. Long ruled by an absolute monarchy they are only now at the beginning of any effective measure of constitutional reform. The Royal Family is still largely autocratic, but the machinery for democratic government is today more than nominal and Parliament has now begun to be more than a rubber-stamp for royal decrees. Government critics can now express themselves without fear of the consequences, although the press is still Government-controlled.

Like other once remote Asian lands, Afghanistan today subject to two interacting trends. On the one hand an old authoritarianism is weakening, while on the other the people are becoming gradually aware of the world struggle between totalitarian Communism and Western style democracy. Which way a country will turn in the circumstances—especially one pressed between the two systems as Afghanistan is—is anyone's guess.

## THE MALAYAN SCENE

By Lillian Buckoke (Singapore)

SINCE June 1948, the British colonial administration in the Federation of Malaya has been engaged in a war with a few thousand Communist-led guerillas. The majority of these insurgents are Chinese, aided by Indians and Malays. Although the Police Force has been steadily expanded and troops have been poured into the country, the war goes on. In spite of assurances by the Commissioner-General, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, and other senior officials, the bandits not only hold their own but seem to be gaining in strength.

The troops and police jungle squads operate for long periods under appalling conditions in the fetid gloom of the equatorial jungle, which still covers two-thirds of the country. Month by month they kill a few bandits, burn camps and occasionally a few bandits surrender. Yet the war continues, and the long-suffering planters and miners, who are continuously in the front-line, are reaching the limit of their endurance.

British-owned estates are being forced to close, because their owners cannot get Europeans to run them. In some instances, Chinese companies buy up these

estates in the hope of being able to carry on either now or at a later date. Tin producers are worried because it is not possible to prospect for new ore-bearing areas under the present conditions. Therefore, unless the emergency is brought to a speedy end, the country's two primary industries will collapse.

As far as the Government is concerned, a favourite excuse is the alleged lack of co-operation on the part of the so-called "fence-sitting Chinese." This is a sweeping statement that should be examined in detail, and not taken at its face value.

In business and everyday social intercourse, Chinese and Europeans get on well together. Genuine and lasting friendships between members of the two races are a common feature of Malayan life.

It may seem strange, therefore, that a basis should exist for the charges of non-co-operation levelled against the Chinese community. Like so many of the other problems, this one has its origins in history.

The 1947 census revealed that the population of the Federation, excluding Singapore, contained 1,884

Chinese, 2,427,834 Malayasians (Malays and Javanese) and 530,638 Indians. The total population was 4,908,086.

The Malayan Chinese hail from the provinces of southern China, and the island of Hainan. The majority of the Malays are indigenous, but a proportion of them are immigrants or the descendants of immigrants from Indonesia.

An examination of the history of the Chinese in Malaya reveals the astonishing facts that, in spite of their numbers, commercial importance, and the great contributions they have made to the development of modern Malaya, they have never been encouraged to take part in politics, or enter the Administrative Service above the clerical grades.

In 1906, a few Straits-born Chinese, and West Indian cadets did, in fact, enter the Malayan Service through entrance examinations then run by the Colonial Office in London. Shortly afterwards, an order was issued that only persons of pure European descent on both sides, could enter the Malayan Civil Service!



*Chinese Communist guerilla who was arrested in Benton Pahang during Mr. Lyttelton's visit*

From then on, the Government proceeded to follow a definitely pro-Malay policy. The Malay Administrative Service, open to Malays only, supplied local officers for the junior grades. Also, it provided an avenue by which the brighter boys could enter the Malayan Civil Service. Thus, in 1946, when constitutional changes were introduced to the country, the Malayan Civil Service was made have little faith in the promises made by princes and governments. Only concrete proof will impress him. He believes that if he doesn't look after himself and his family, no one



*Mr. Lyttelton and the Sultan of Negri Sembilan*

up of British and Malay officers—there were no Chinese officers in Singapore.

In this respect, Singapore has been slightly more progressive. Recently, four Chinese were admitted to the executive grades as members of the Colonial Administrative Service—but *not* as members of the Malayan Civil Service. The inference is that, like their European colleagues, these Chinese officers are subject to transfer to any part of the Colonial Empire. If, as one would expect, they are also liable for service in the Federation, then it is difficult to understand why they were not admitted to the Malayan Civil Service in the first place.

The Government was not anti-Chinese—it was just indifferent. Naturally, this engendered similar feelings in the minds of most Chinese. Even as late as 1947, this policy was still being followed. It is clearly illustrated by the different treatment meted out to the Chinese and Malay refugees who landed on the west coast of Malaya at the time, fleeing from the communal fighting at Bagan Siapi-Api, in Sumatra. The Chinese, mostly women, children and old people, were herded into an improvised camp at Port Swettenham, and subsequently had to go back the way they had come, and rebuild their devastated villages as best they could.

Malays who came over at the same time were allowed quietly to disappear into the nearby Malay villages.

The effect of the Government's policy towards the Chinese is further aggravated by the stormy conditions that have existed in China for centuries past. This has made the average Chinese the world's greatest individualist. He



else is likely to do so. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the Malayan Chinese community has drawn within itself, and is not particularly responsive to Government's pleas for co-operation.

After the last war, the Malayan Union proposals held promise of better things. Due to Malay opposition the McMichael Treaties were scrapped, and the present Federation of Malaya established, which, at the very least, conveys an impression of Malay predominance in the political life of the country.

Now there is much talk of progress to self-government, and the creation of a Malayan nationality. Political leaders expect quick results, so such a nationality must be a synthetic one, created by statute and not by the slow and natural processes of time. If this is to work, which it can only do with the whole-hearted co-operation of the Chinese, then there must be a decided change of heart on the part of the Government and the Malay Rulers.

The Chinese, and the other non-Malay inhabitants, must be allowed to become first-class—not second-class, citizens of the country they regard as home.

There is evidence that for years past the general structure and management of the Malayan Civil Service has left much to be desired. At a time when India was skimming the cream of the cadets destined for Britain's overseas possessions, young Europeans were brought to Malaya at an impressionable age, to be submerged in a peculiar departmentalised form of red tape. The majority were required to study Malay in the country. A very few were sent to Canton to learn Chinese, and another small proportion went to Madras to study Tamil.

These cadets were not required to study a second language—and few did. The effects of this policy become very marked when the officers concerned reach maturity. They are very apt to be prejudiced in favour of one race at the expense of the others. The mis-handling of Muslim opinion before the riots of last December, Singapore, by certain very senior officers, provides an interesting illustration of this attitude.

War casualties in internment further depleted the senior ranks—often of some of its best men. This has resulted in certain promotions which are a good thing for the individuals, but not for the country. In turn, this has had a disheartening effect on the young post-war recruits, many of whom were excellent material. There has been a tendency for many of the more go-ahead to resign and seek other employment, and for the others to drift into a furrow ploughed by those above them. A few months ago the Malayan Establishment Officer admitted that the Governments of Malaya and Singapore were losing European officers at the rate of one a week. It is not bandits who are driving them out.

Malaya's problem is a political one of long standing which provided fertile soil into which the agents of Communism could sow their virile seeds. It is evident to the Administration as it is at present staffed and organised is not capable of dealing with it.

What Malaya needs is new blood—and it needs it at the top, where it can infuse fresh drive, energy and unprejudiced vision into the country's public services. If Malaya is to be saved from anarchy and economic ruin, there is time to lose.

## GO EAST, YOUNG MAN

*By Kenneth Holt*

"SITUATIONS WANTED—Healthy young man, go anywhere, do anything."

**H**OW often does one read this in the agony columns? Once a week? At least! And yet British Companies operating in India and Pakistan have great difficulty in recruiting for their overseas staffs.

Had this been the latter end of the last century, the pundits would have chanted the adage "Go East, young man," for the East was then on the crest of the wave of prosperity.

Merchants returning from India with shiploads of tea, indigo and spices made fortunes in a few years, and one jute mill in Calcutta recovered its capital twice over within thirteen years of the starting of business, paying handsome dividends at the same time.

Examination of the real sources of wealth in these countries shows that they derive almost entirely from an

abundance of raw materials in which rice, cotton and jute predominate. Large sums of British capital were invested in India before its partition into India and Pakistan and the majority of it is still there. Furthermore, the progressive industrialisation of these two countries, regarded many as being the leaders of the new Asia, offers further scope for future investment.

Both countries are determined to go ahead and neither are blind to their lack of capital, experience and trained men. Consequently they are prepared to offer generous terms for the right personnel to run their mills, to open their banks and market their goods, to fly their aircraft and to train their labour and engineers.

British investors also prefer to employ a percentage of Britons to look after their interests overseas and the



too, are prepared to offer good terms of service to those willing to serve them. The very risks insinuated by the Persian oil dispute and the shadow of nationalisation throughout the world puts a premium on salaries for those willing to face such difficulties. Yet in most places where Britons are employed overseas, calmness prevails and good business is carried on in almost the same monotony as in the Motherland herself.

Why then, do many firms have difficulty in recruiting for their Eastern staffs? It may well be due to adverse comment on conditions as reported by those who have now retired, but then every generation that retires considers that the present is no longer like "the good old day." On the other hand it may to some extent be due to the fear of reaching beyond the pale of security at present offered by the Welfare State.

It must be admitted here that such upheavals as have been witnessed in Persia and the recent assassination of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in Pakistan give cause for serious consideration before taking the plunge of going East. But political upheavals cannot today be discounted as impossible in Britain, and such depressions as were seen in 1926 are equally as distasteful to the individual as those being faced by the technicians expelled from Abadan.

As a practical example of an opportunity in the Indian sub-continent let me quote my own case.

At times in England I had envied friends whom I met in London on leave from India for six whole months,

with plenty of money to spend and as many tales to tell of their experiences overseas. Eventually I joined a firm in Calcutta in 1948 on £97 10s. 0d. a month. I received an ample allowance for quarters, use of a car, a contract renewable every three years with six months' leave on full pay at the end of each contract with free passages paid to and from the United Kingdom. My income has so far enabled me to enjoy all the sport that I wanted, plenty of social recreation, including more Scotch than is good for me, servants, a full wardrobe and still to be able to send £25 a month home to save. Furthermore, these savings have been enhanced by generous bonuses paid during prosperous years.

In spite of present-day political tension, I see no reason for despondency in the future. Like most firms in the East, mine offers me an opportunity to attain directorship at a comparatively early age, a position rarely achievable in Britain without big financial backing or family connections. I hope to retire at about 50 years of age and my savings, combined with a small pension, should guarantee a pleasant aftermath to my working years.

Why then this reticence to take a chance and the awful clinging to security? Even I, a non-resident, am allowed to be a voluntary contributor to the National Health and Pension Scheme to guarantee myself £2 a week at 65 years of age. Not only that, but as a visitor on leave I recently obtained a new set of dentures for which I paid nothing!

## INDIA TODAY

### The Crisis and the Common Man

*By Binod U. Rao (Hyderabad)*

THE common man in India today is sufficiently enlightened to be aware of the changes that are going on around him. These changes are so sudden, so significant and so far-reaching as to amount to a revolution. He may not appreciate the precise nature of this revolution or its detailed implications, but he does recognise that it is going to affect, for good or ill, not only himself and his children, but his children's children, not to speak of succeeding generations.

Normally, the common man of India is a man of peace, guided mainly by the simple philosophy that this is the best of all possible worlds, in which everything wrong is a necessary evil. This is not to say that he is so fatalistic or so hidebound as to be unreceptive to new ideas; but he must be convinced that they are sound, that is, that

they will do him good. He is industrious and intelligent in his own sphere, and has a way of combining lightness of heart with seriousness of purpose. In times of trouble he can stick to it like a man.

The new forces at work in the country have left the common man a little bewildered, a little sad, but he has been told by his leaders—in whom, hitherto, he has reposed unquestioning faith—that change is the law of life: that every nation faces, and ought to face, periodic challenges; that this is nothing to complain about, for it is the way the world works.

For the most part the common man accepts this explanation, but he does not wholly accept it any longer without question. The doses of education that he has swallowed have taught him to worry about things, to

inquire, like the little boy in the poem, "why this" and "why not." National freedom has not brought him that freedom from want, let alone that opportunity and happiness, which he thought would be his for the pressing of a button after the liberation. Far from the Utopia he expected to live in, he encounters a chilly world of forms and regulations, of "don'ts" and delays and unresponsiveness, a world in which, alas, honesty remains unrewarded and promises remain unfulfilled. He sees a few rich families trying to feel safe amidst a vast neighbourhood of poverty-ridden, sick and frustrated people. He has made the appalling discovery that even in free India the wicked flourish exceedingly while the meek and the virtuous often go to the wall.

All this is gradually tending to paralyse his impulse towards cooperative endeavour in the common cause and to replace it with the rather lower motive of individual or sectional gain. This is reflected in the increasing demands for more pay and less work, more rights and fewer responsibilities, more always of the nice and juicy things of life, less always of its toil and trouble. Persons are not wanting, of course, to capitalise this tendency and make it the starting point of an organised movement for disruption and anarchy.

That a people should thus be allowed to "lay waste its powers" at a time of national emergency is nothing short of a tragedy. Indian leadership must take its share of blame for this situation. But there is more to it than that.

For one thing, our leaders have had to concentrate on the immediate problems arising from that great breakup of the Indian household, known as partition. We in India know by how much sorrow, how much heartbreak and dislocation, the break-up of a home is attended. When that home spreads over an area of 1,500,000 square miles and consists of 400,000,000 members, the dislocation caused by the separation can be imagined. There is no doubt that the communal killings that accompanied independence have hampered our recovery and darkened our future, after having at one time threatened our very existence as a State.

During the years of the struggle for freedom, the common man was fed on promises of great rivers of milk and honey flowing through the plains of free India. Unfortunately for himself and the country, the ordinary man missed the true significance of the hyperbole and came to take it more or less literally and his leaders did little to disillusion him, evidently for fear of damping his enthusiasm for the cause. Well, freedom has come, but there is not the slightest sign of that milk and honey, and the common man feels he has been let down. He

expresses his reaction in an apathy and inertia which is not a natural part of his character.

At the same time, Indian leadership after *swaraj* has not taken any demonstrable positive steps to better the immediate lot of the common man. Rather it has left itself open to the charge that it is favouring the "haves" as against the "have-nots" with the object of securing its own future. Take the case of controls. Both central and provincial governments, against the advice of their permanent advisers, and under pressure of Big Business, set in train a process of derationing and decontrol of necessities of life like food and clothing—very disastrous results to the man in the street. The consequences of decontrol were so serious that the Government was soon obliged to restore controls in some form. Prices of staple commodities are three or four times what they used to be, and the general cost of living has so increased that even a contortionist would have trouble making his ends meet. The large and ambitious schemes of national development on which the Government is working do not make a particular appeal to the common man. They are too far away and too nebulous. He fears it is going to be the old story all over again—the rich becoming richer and the poor even poorer. Whatever the intentions of the Government, this is the impression that is gradually being created in the mind of the common man. It hardly provides the right atmosphere for extracting the best of him.

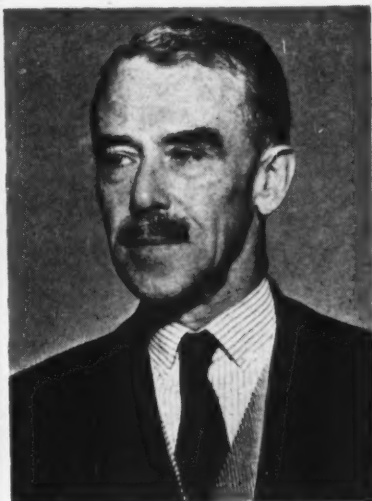
The common man himself is not free from blame. In his recoil from an unpleasant surprise he has allowed himself too readily, against his innate stronger nature, to be doped with defeatism, which has impaired his will to progress. He has come to believe that in free India he is "entitled" to happiness as to fresh air. He has become inclined to reject the austere truth that every blessing has its price, that work and sorrow are of the world as well as its fruition and joy.

India's leaders must help the common man to get over this temporary phase of frustration and bring out his finer qualities. If they are to do real, substantial good to the country as a whole, leaders will have to have something more than inspiring personalities. They must have a policy which aims always at setting free the spring of creative energy in the people at large. They must find the key to this fountain, must discover a common, compelling incentive summoning all the great reserve energy in the nation for a mighty and united creative effort. But they will not find this key, or discover this common incentive, until they shake themselves free of the influence of vested interests who now surround them. When this is done, that will be the signal for the common man to get back to work in real earnest.

## LONDON NOTEBOOK

### Mr. Casey

The Rt. Hon. R. G. Casey, Australian Minister for External Affairs, paid a short visit to London last month. At a press conference he stressed the important part Asia played in Australia's foreign policy and his country's concern with all developments in that part of the world. Mr. Casey's distinguished career included two years as



Governor of Bengal, U.K. Minister of State in the Middle East and Australian Minister in the U.S. He became Foreign Minister last year.

### Ceylonese Painter

Ranjit Fernando, a young Sinhalese painter from Ceylon, held a one-man exhibition in London last month. His work shows a complete break with tradition and yet does not echo anything being done in the West. Using the physical world as a point of departure into a private world of the emotions he paints with an exquisite and moving sense of colour the visions which arise from it in his mind. And yet, he has a good sense of discipline and order.



### Japanese Women Guests

For the first time since the war, a delegation of Japanese women visited Britain last month, as guests of the Foreign Office. They studied social conditions in this country. Leader of the delegation, in kimono, was Mrs. Mumeo Oku, a member of the House of Councillors.

### Burmese Educationalists

A Burmese Educational Study Mission visited Britain last month on the invitation of the British Council. It consisted of six members, including Sao Saimong, Principal Education Officer of the Shan States. He said that great progress had been made in his region since 1947. The Shan States now have 400 schools, but lack of funds and a shortage of teachers was holding up their educational schemes. Another member of the mission, U Than Han, librarian of Rangoon University, said that his library, which had been completely destroyed in the war, was making a spectacular recovery and had now over 30,000 books. Rangoon University has 4,000 students, compared with 1,500 before the war, and suffers severely under the lack of teachers.

### News from Asia

Congratulations to the B.B.C. on this programme which was broadcast in six weekly instalments during November and December. It was incomparably superior to anything hitherto attempted on this area. The secret of its success was the technique employed: an on-the-spot "colour" despatch from Mr. Ritchie Calder from S.E. Asia, followed by a discussion in London. The discussion group was led by Mr. Alec Peterson and included Sir John Russell, Prof. Cyril Philips, Mr. A. W. Harding and Dr. Victor Purcell, all of whom spoke informally and vividly.

### Karachi University

Prof. A. B. A. Haleem, Vice-Chancellor of the newly-formed University of Karachi, visited Britain last month in order to recruit teaching staff, particularly for the departments of science, economics and English literature. He feels that British professors were the most suitable as teaching at his University was based on the English system, and also because English will be used there for many years before Urdu can take its place. He also hoped that exchanges of



students and staff between Karachi University and British Universities might be arranged.

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## FROM ALL QUARTERS

### Separate Sikh State

Master Tara Singh, the militant leader of the Sikh Akali Dal Party, is touring the Punjab speaking on behalf of his Party's candidates in the forthcoming elections in India. Opposed to Nehru's governing Congress Party,



Tara Singh wants a separate Sikh State within the Indian Union, which would be comprised of areas in the Punjab where the Sikhs are in a majority.

### Dollar Ransoms to China

A new order has been issued in U.S.A. to Chinese-Americans forbidding all financial transactions with Red China under a fine of \$10,000 or 10 years in prison or both.

Chinese-Americans have been sending large sums of money to ransom their relatives in Red China. The picture shows Joe Jang of San Francisco, who refuses to pay the 1,600 dollars demanded for his mother's life, who is under arrest in China.



### P.o.W. Island off South Korea

This aerial view shows part of the camp housing 120,000 Communist prisoners of war at Kojedo, an island off the South Korean coast. In the centre of the picture the prisoners can be seen mustering for inspection.





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## PITMAN

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### Fractional H.P. Electric Motors

By F. G. Spreadbury, M.Inst.B.E., M.A.I.E.E. The increasing use of small motors makes this book of considerable value to electrical engineers and designers of equipment. The principles of most fractional h.p. motors are explained and a basis for design is given. Other important matters dealt with include speed control and determination of performance characteristics. Illustrated. 35s. net.

PITMAN, Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W.C.2.

## ASIAN LABOUR

### A Quarterly Journal

(Organ of the Indian Labour Forum)

Editor : T. L. A. Acharya

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## BOOKS on the

Mission with Mountbatten by ALAN CAMPBELL

JOHNSON, C.I.E., O.B.E. (Robert Hale, 25s.).

A SKILLED hand has here told, by means of copious extracts from his own diary, which is broadly based on Lord Mountbatten's daily memoranda to his staff, the story of the short last Viceroyalty in the Indian Empire and the first Governor-Generalship of the new Indian Union, emerging with the sister dominion of Pakistan from the voluntary transfer of power in August 1947. The manner in which Lord Mountbatten discharged what he has recently revealed was to him a distasteful task, is vividly here described by the man on whom he chiefly relied for his relations with the Press, both Indian and non-Indian. It will not be expected, therefore, that the view which the narrative seeks to establish will in all respects be accepted by the objective commentator. For example, there is a tendency to exaggerate the attitude of the Conservative Party in this country as if it had been a hostile critic of Lord Mountbatten's achievements. In point of fact, when the decision to transfer power on the basis of partition was announced in Parliament in June 1947, Mr. Churchill at once congratulated Mr. Attlee on his choice of Viceroy and Lord Mountbatten himself has recently paid tribute to the co-operation of the Conservative Opposition in assuring the rapid passage of the Indian Independence Bill so as to facilitate plans for the transfer of power on the declared date of August 15, 1947.

Nevertheless, Mr. Campbell-Johnson has, in lively fashion, put on record events and facts which the future historian will find of enormous interest and importance. In the meantime, here is a most readable book in which the glamour of a momentous historical event is not forgotten and yet the very human approach of the chief actor to that event, developed from day to day in a crescendo smoothly planned, receives vivid expression. Faced with the task of carrying with him the leading statesmen in the country which had to be divided, Lord Mountbatten had to combine a certain ruthlessness with the suavity and friendliness which he knew so well how to conjure up for the occasion. His versatility in dealing with politicians, Indian rulers, journalists and the enigmatic figure of the Mahatma was highly tested and it came through the test triumphantly. The peak perhaps was reached on Thursday, August 14, 1947 when, with Mr. Jinnah, Lord Mountbatten, appearing for the last time as Viceroy drove in State through decorously crowded streets in Karachi and in the evening—thanks to the aeroplane—was in Delhi preparing to exchange the Viceroyalty of the Indian Empire for the Governor-Generalship of independent India. The author describes the scene in New Delhi at the end of that busy day:

# FAR EAST

"As midnight struck, Mountbatten was sitting quietly at his desk. I have known him in most moods; tonight there was an air about him of serenity, almost detachment. The scale of his personal achievement was too great for elation, rather his sense of history and the fitness of things at this dramatic moment, when the old and the new order were reconciled in himself, called forth composure."

"Quite deliberately he took off his reading glasses, turned the keys on his dispatch boxes and summoned me to help tidy the room and stow away these outward and visible signs of Viceregal activity. Although there was a whole army of servants outside, it never occurred to either of us to call them. Only when all the papers had been put away and his desk cleared were they called in to move some of the furniture and provide room for members of the Press who had been invited to witness the event."

Necessarily the narrative could not remain on that note of elation. There came the tragic days after partition when the Punjab and Delhi itself saw the horrors of bloodshed, and looting; the serenity of relations between India and Pakistan was sorely shaken unhappily for months to come.

There is little doubt that Lord Mountbatten and his wife established for themselves in India a rich reservoir of goodwill. Circumstances not entirely within their control did not enable them fully to win the favour of Pakistan. Mr. Campbell-Johnson's diaries show that Mr. Jinnah and Lord Mountbatten never really arrived at an understanding, although each, perhaps, had a strong regard for the strength and single-mindedness of the other. From that defect in an otherwise admirably planned mission many difficulties arose and causes for criticism were given. Yet it would have been a superman who could have carried that task through without laying himself open to criticism whether by the sages pontificating after the event or by those who felt that in the pressure of working to a deadline the wrong choice was made of matters the tidying up of which could be left for the future.

To end on a light note in fairness to the author and for the encouragement of the less serious-minded reader, it should be added that the daily diaries bristle with the names of unknown and better known personalities, including Noel Coward, and frequently recount amusing happenings. Perhaps the most unexpected of these digressions is the story of that historic moment when the first Governor-General of the new India received the envelope which was to contain the names of the first Indian independent Cabinet. The envelope was large, carefully addressed, and ceremoniously presented by the Prime Minister. When all was over and Lord Mountbatten and Mr. Campbell-Johnson had finished for the day—albeit midnight had passed—the new Governor-General opened the envelope, but he was not fated to know the names of the Cabinet before dawn. "By a sublime oversight" the envelope was empty.

EDWIN HAWARD

## THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

Volume II (new series)

by SIR CHARLES FAWCETT

42s. net.

This second instalment of the new series of *English Factories in India* relates only to those situated on the Coromandel Coast, and in Bengal. It covers the same period as the first volume—1670-1677.

## MR. F. P. WALTERS'S HISTORY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

will be published

on the 10th January which marks  
the anniversary of the League's  
establishment.

It will be in two volumes, 60s. net, and is published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

## MY INDIA

JIM CORBETT'S

new book

will be published in March or April.

10s. 6d. net.

It will not fail to delight those who enjoyed *Man-Eaters of Kumaon* and the *Man-Eating Leopard of Rudraprayag*.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS



**The Constitution of Ceylon by SIR IVOR JENNINGS**  
(Oxford University Press: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 16s.).

The youngest and smallest of the Dominions has been exceptionally fortunate in the attainment of her present status largely through her own efforts and without the bitterness of strife. Sir Ivor Jennings, an authority on constitutional law and cabinet government, who now holds the office of Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon, was the constitutional adviser to Mr. D. S. Senanayake during the preparation of the new system and he is therefore in a good position to describe the constitution and the principles underlying its provisions in what should be regarded as a standard work of reference on the subject.

The volume under review is divided into two parts, the first an historical introduction with a summary of the new legislation and some critical observations; and the second part the documents of the new constitution suitably annotated.

The author is not blinded by his intimate connection with men and events in Ceylon to the difficulties in creating a real system of responsible parliamentary government in the country. These difficulties are in part due to the relative freedom of the country from major political issues of the type which would divide the field fairly evenly between two main parties and ensure a strong opposition; partly to the inheritance from the past which makes it hard to establish the ideal relationship as between senior civil servants at the head of departments and the ministers in charge of portfolios and to eliminate undue interference with the administration; and partly to the tendency to exalt the office of Prime Minister and to throw undue tasks on his shoulders, whereas the Cabinet should be a team and not a leading actor with chorus. The parliamentary procedure in financial matters has not worked very well, since the House of Representatives has tended to debate minor details rather than ministerial policy. But the difficulties—mainly transitional—must not be taken to suggest that the constitution has not worked well on the whole.

Mention must be made of the careful exposition of the system of proportional representation by the single transferable vote and of the chapter on Defence and External Affairs in which the system of Commonwealth consultation is outlined.

ARGUS

**Mughal Government and Administration by SRI RAM SHARMA** (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, Rs. 9/8.).

To compress the story of the development of Mogul administration through two hundred years into a volume of under 300 pages is not easy and while one can read with interest this little volume from cover to cover one hopes that at some date in the future certain aspects of the subject which have a particular significance in present times will receive more detailed exposition at the hands of the erudite author. Mogul rule was personal rule and it could

be very good or very bad depending on the character of the all-powerful monarch. It could be conducted in a wholly secular spirit, as it was under Akbar, or in a spirit of puritanical intolerance, as under his great-grandson Aurangzeb. When all had crumbled, there was a legacy which lives on into the present—a legacy of pomp and splendour maintained by the English Viceroy, a legacy of land tenures which has also been maintained as well as other less desirable hangovers which were not countenanced. The habit of taking presents in return for official favours conferred, fairly general some 150 years ago, was almost stamped out by the payment of adequate living wages to State servants. In the development of a system of sharing of crops, in the reforms of Todar Mal to ensure that the over-taxed cultivator was credited with any overcharge, to survey all cultivable land, to grant adequate relief for land left fallow and to improve the system of assessment the Mogul administration made an important contribution to the evolution of a land revenue system. Mr. Sharma feels that the study of a bygone technique of administration serves a three-fold purpose. "We have to try hard to shake off some of it. A part did solid work for good or for evil until 1947. There is still a substantial part left where the past is still with us. He might have added that modern democracy needs to be vigilant to guard against a lapse into the evils of another age.

BERNARD FONSECA

**China to Chitral by H. W. TILMAN** (Cambridge University Press, 25s.).

Even to those who would not know an *arete* from *neve* this book should appeal. It has many verbal delights, most becomingly presented in pleasing print on well spaced pages, and lit by a series of Tilman's own photographs which are a revelation of the beauties of the great tract of Central Asia he covered in his wanderings.

Mountaineers, and those who are knowledgeable about mountains, will buy the book in any case. Tilman and his previous writings are well enough known to ensure that. The importance of this publication for the rest of us is that it presents Tilman, and his friend Eric Shipton, not so much as the great explorers and mountaineers they are already known to be, but as true amateurs of mountains. In his rambling and discursive account of his activities in 1948, he gives us an insight into the spirit of the few whose joy in life is to pit their strength, skill and resolution against the thin air and hazards of the high places of the earth.

Among the curious and fascinating aspects of his story is the effect of altitudes of seventeen thousand feet on a picked Kirghiz who was notably active on the mountains at his own accustomed height of ten thousand feet. He collapsed completely and for the greater part of the first three thousand feet of the descent had to be lowered in a sitting position supported by the rope. Tilman recalls a somewhat similar experience in the previous year and comments, "Two men are not a fair sample, but one is tempted to conclude that mere living at ten thousand feet

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as most Kirghiz do, does not increase the body's toleration to greater heights."

Perhaps the book itself suggests the answer to the question of what makes men able to live, and perform astonishing physical feats, at heights where breathing is a hardship. Possibly the conquest of mountains is the strongest evidence of the power of mind over matter.

J. M. SPEY

**South-East Asia and its Future** by GUY WINT (*The Batchworth Press, 1s. 6d.*).

"Upon the breaking and shivering of a great empire," wrote Bacon, "you may be sure to have wars. For great empires while they stand do enervate and destroy the forces of the nations which they have subdued: and then when they fail also, all goes to ruin and they become a prey."

Guy Wint, after quoting Bacon, goes on to explain in this booklet how the once very stable group of countries in the Far East which enjoyed a long period of peace under the old regimes of the colonial period have come near to the gloomy prophecy of a political philosopher of 400 years ago. He tells of the war that upset the prestige of the colonial powers in the East, of the rising tide of nationalism, of the forces of disorder born of war and the new governments set up by the occupying power which made a return to the old order additionally difficult. The

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one exception to the general pattern was Siam which was more fortunate than any of the war ravaged areas and whose present stability is not threatened by any internal problem but by the presence of a powerful Communist neighbour.

Otherwise we have everywhere, in Burma, Indonesia, Viet Nam, the Philippines, the achievement or partial achievement of power by national movements which have hitherto been engaged in trying to overthrow imperialism. Will these countries find the parliamentary institutions of the western pattern a convenient apparatus for political life? Wint refers to the lack of tried armies, the Communist menace and in conclusion advises the West to push on with every means for the economic advancement of South-East Asia and with support for progressive reform without exposing themselves to the charge of backing reactionary governments.

A very useful and concise factual account of the situation in the Far East by an acknowledged authority.

FARRUKHSIYAR

**The Lamp Is Lit** by RITCHIE CALDER (*Published by the World Health Organisation. Obtainable from H.M. Stationery Office, 1s. 6d.*)

People are beginning to be critical of the great expenditure on the United Nations and its specialised agencies and it is as well that they should have some concrete evidence of the dividends obtained by an organisation like WHO, perhaps the most useful of these agencies judged on work done to date.

In a remote corner of East Pakistan, a WHO team working with the local authorities demonstrated the value of malaria control methods in a heavily infected area. At the end of a year no cases of malaria were found among children under a year old. This itself was good, but better still was the report that for the year the yield of rice had increased by 543 pounds per acre. Nine men were able to do the work of ten that year, they put in shorter working hours and still produced more rice.

This is one illustration of the interrelation of health and efficiency and the rewards that better health brings in better standards of living. Other examples given by

Calder show how communicable diseases are brought under international observation for control purposes; maternal and infant mortality is being fought; how nutrition problems are being handled; and steps to place the experience of one country in combating a particular disease at the disposal of another.

A striking illustration of the fact that ignorance goes hand in hand with poverty and disease is provided by the case of the television researchers preparing three maps of the world. One was to indicate the hungry areas; another the areas with lowest literacy; the third the most disease-ridden areas. When the maps were ready they proved almost identical. The world over, mass-hunger, mass ignorance and mass disease follow common contours!

"Its (WHO's) real achievement," Calder observes, "will be when, for the good of themselves and the rest of the world, governments stamp out the conditions which breed and spread infection." True, but the overriding difficulty is not governmental indifference but colossal shortages of personnel, of drugs, or equipment—and too many patients.

FARRUKHSIYAR

**Elementary Chinese** by SHAU WING CHAN (Stanford University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 60s.)

This imposing and comprehensive volume is described as "a new effective text for the teaching of Chinese at the college level." It is certainly that; indeed, many will suggest that if this work deals only with elementary Chinese, what the Chinese scholar must face in order to master all the intricacies of the written language is enough

to deter the boldest spirit. Yet, once started on the 3 pages of introduction, the student will soon realise that he is being led intelligently and sympathetically along a difficult path with full regard to the nature of his task. We know of no work which will give the student so much help in the difficult early stages, or which will encourage him to press on more eagerly to the mastery of one of the world's most fascinating languages.

The history of the language is given in brief; the development of the script, the pronunciation, systems of transcription, and a brief account of dialects round off a valuable introduction. Then from the first of the sixty lessons the student is led into sentence construction and the formation of idiomatic spoken Chinese. The graduation is made as easy as possible; insensibly the reader acquires his knowledge until he surprises himself. From phrases of two or three characters the lessons pass on into jokes and normal conversations and stories, until at the end a few of the easier poems of the T'ang period are introduced. Dr. Chan uses a special graphic system to indicate the tones; this system should be well studied as the outset for it is the best visual method so far devised. The present work has been developed from the same author's *Chinese Reader for Beginners* (now out of print) on the advice and at the request of students and teachers who used the earlier work. They did well to advise Dr. Chan to this end. The orderly presentation of vocabulary and exercises is of the greatest value, a value matched only by the fullness of the notes to each exercise.

NEVILLE WHYMAN



Tara Chaudhri in a typical Bharata Natyam pose

## INDIAN DANCING

By Enakshi Bhavnani (Bombay)

DANCING, which is one of the expressions of emotions natural to all human creatures, has been largely influenced by Nature and its surroundings. Man liked the musical tinkle of the forest stream, the delicacy of the song of birds, the roar of the wild animals, the sounds of the elements, and from these impressions sprang responsive feelings within himself. He also desired to imitate the rhythm of the dancing peacock, the agility of the deer, the slow measured steps of the elephant, the grace of the swan, the fiery passion of the wild animal at war, and to give these their relevant accompaniment of sounds. Thus arose the creation and development of crude movements with vocal explanations, such as the dances of the savage tribes in the forests to celebrate festivals and ceremonies.

Only after years, however, did Man succeed in getting his complete range of emotions expressed in movement and signs, together with a musical accompaniment.



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*Bhil dance by Uday Shankar, depicting the quarrel of the husband and lover over the bride*

so that the performer could convey any sentiment without speech to his audiences. Nature therefore moulded his mind at first with its beauty, tremendous power, changing moods, harmony in its multiplicity, and the religious fervour of his simple mind made him associate every phase of Nature with something sublime and heavenly.

In India, the Hindu dancer invented a beautiful scheme, where the outward movements combined harmoniously with the inner spiritual meanings. Out of his imaginative pictures of gods and goddesses, their heavenly minstrels and attendants, endowing these immortals with human attributes, he created perfect beings dancing with wondrous poses and gestures to express anger, joy, sorrow, fear, and the whole range of emotions.

For this comprehensive form of the dance, the whole body, the eyes, the face, the eyebrows, the limbs and the head were used, combined with hand gestures or language signs which would be used in the place of talk. And the accompanying music, too, had to have its origin in Nature, being associated with the cries of birds and animals, serving as concrete tests for the accuracy of reproduction. The seven notes of the main tonic scale are classified as follows: —Sa (Shagda) the cry of the peacock; Ri (Rishaba) the sound made by the cow calling her calf; Ga (Gandhara) the bleat of the goat; Ma (Marhyama) the cry of the heron; the tonic note of Nature; Pa (Panchama) the note of the cuckoo or kokila, the Indian nightingale; Da (Dhaivata) the neighing of the horse; Ni (Nishada) the trumpeting of the elephant.

Apart from this logical explanation of the development of the Indian dance, there is also the romantic one which gives to it a divine source. According to legend,

Indra the Lord of heaven asked Brahma the Creator and first of the Hindu Trinity to create a pastime that would appeal to the Gods. Brahma took the exquisite lyrical matter from the first book of the Aryans, the *Rig Veda*; the music from the *Soma Veda*, the second sacred treatise; and the emotional flavour from the third or *Adharva Veda* and created the dance. He then had it taught by revelation to the great sage Bharata and his sons, who spread the art by teaching it to human beings.

The supreme Lord of the Dance however, is Shiva, the third of the Hindu Trinity. There are three aspects of his dances, namely, the Destructive, the Yogic, and the Gift Giving. In the first aspect, Shiva is the Destroyer and he dances on the burning ground to destroy the Ego of man and burn away all illusions and desires. In the second aspect, his dance is one of calm and beauty, as at sunset, when he calls to his followers to worship him with peace in their hearts. The soul of man drinks deep then of self-forgetfulness and is purified not by force but by the creative power of contemplation. The third aspect is that of the Nataraja, the Creator of Cosmic Movement, where he destroys evil, granting rewards in this world and bliss in the next to the countless souls that love him, showing the dual significance representing the material processes of Nature on the one hand and the subjective spiritual processes on the other.

In the dances of Shri Krishna, with Radha and the Gopis (milkmaids), the latter represent the eternal longing of the individual and the countless souls respectively to join the Divine Soul of God. Something good and beautiful underlies the idea of the dances of the Gods for beauty alone can bring to the hearts of man goodness and love can move them to compassion.

In the Indian Classical dance, four elements, drama, acting, music and dancing are considered inseparable. For in the dance we find dancing technique, acting, movements of the arms with hand gestures, flavour and mood. It is always divided into the Tandava or forceful type of dance, and the Lasya or sweet and gentle style. The expression of the dance is detailed in the *Mudras* or hand gestures—the Bhava or mood tenderly described by the glances and head movements with facial expressions; the harmony of the postures, and the rhythmic timing of the feet. And it is a definite art where nothing is left to the creative impulse of the moment, but has to be mastered so perfectly that each dancer's individuality, grace and power of technique and emotional expression frees it from all monotony.

In South India, with its age-old carved temples and atmosphere of Hindu culture, the Classic dance as described by Bharata in his immortal book the *Natya Sashtra* the pure dance has been best preserved. The perfect angles that arms and waistline take, the swing of the head, the combination of foot-work which passes from flat of foot to toes, toes to heels, and heels to ball of foot together with the explicit hand gestures supported with facial expressions, full of meaning, decorated as they are with the play of the eyes, eyebrows and trembling lips, make it appear as if the immortal sculptures have come to life.

The Classical Dance in South India is known as the Bharata Natyam, and it usually begins with the "Allaripu," or "the opening of bud into blossom," making a prelude to the performance and introducing a general outline of the form and technique of the dance. It is followed by the "Jetiswaram," where the background music and dance movements become more technical, and pure dance composition is at its best. The third is the "Sabdam," a musical piece rendered in gesture language, where the acting ability or the dancer can be estimated; and then comes the "Varanam," the most highly elaborate dance conception, being composed of gestures with rhythmic cadences, containing many pure dance preludes, interludes and finales combined with excellent technique and emotional acting. The dance finally ends with the "Tillana," depicting feminine charm; here technique and grace, a perfect sense of rhythm and posture are essential.

In the north of India, the classic dance is known as Kathak. Here also, the themes are devotional and interpretive, though more of the swift movements are done on the flat of the foot, the toes and in pirouetting so that the wide glittering dance skirt spreads out. All the set rules of the South Indian classical form are recognised by the Kathak dancers, and here also the drummer keeps the main rhythm, and fits in at double, treble or four times the speed, little verses that are danced to embellish the technique, and enhance the perfect balance of body, quick turns and lightning speed. A finished dancer in Kathak could trace blindfold with his feet the pattern of

a peacock or an elephant on a floor covered with rice powder; or move the feet so delicately, that only a certain number or even a single ankle bell could be made to sound from the whole circlet of bells.

Kathakali, the dance dramas of Malabar, South-West India, must also be considered with the Classical schools, although they are performed for the most part by the people of the village, in the villages and for the village people, under spreading trees, lighted by dozens of little oil lamps flickering in shining brass candelabra. Whole episodes are danced from the Epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. Done to the accompaniment of music, in which the recitation of "Slokas" (verses) connect the incidents of the story, and "Padams" (lyrics) explain the dialogues of the characters, the dancers can talk for hours with their hands, using a detailed gesture language that embodies about eight hundred in number, and dividing long conversations with pure dance interludes. It is a very forceful style of the dance, being mostly done by men, and comprises intricate foot-work, body poses, the spreading of the legs while standing on the edges of the feet, and powerful movements combined with strong fluttering of the eyebrows, and vivid eye movements. To heighten the dramatic effect, an elaborate facial make-up of rice powder, lime and certain paints is used, green being for good characters, and red or black for wicked or fierce ones.

The most graceful and popular form of traditional folk dancing is that of the Manipuri people (Assam). All their dance themes are taken from the legend concerning Shri Krishna, Radha, and the Gopis and Gopas as they are allegorically described to have lived and danced on the banks of the Jamuna river at Brindaban. The dance has no comprehensive gesture language, but its few hand gestures are very expressive. The elastic circling of the wrists, and undulations of the whole arm, lilting movements of the body and a gentle use of the head in a circular motion are its main features.

Folk dancing in India also has its roots in Nature. It is seasonal, being closely associated with the varying times throughout the year, which are dedicated to the seasons, the festivals and particular village deities. Shri Krishna, the incarnation of perpetual Youth, is the favourite deity, and during spring, summer, harvest time, the rainy season, the Festival of Lights and during the New Year, celebrations are observed with song and dance. Like the classical dance, folk dancing in India has no material yet symbolic depiction of religious conception with Nature as the inspiration. Folk dancing is more spontaneous and free from rigid rules of technique; the costumes are colourful and the accompanying songs are simple and the outcome of a simple people. Together the classical and the folk dances lend a meaning to Indian culture which has come down through the ages.

# ECONOMIC SECTION

## Railway Rehabilitation in India

By K. N. Wahal (New Delhi)

**I**N the four years since independence and six years since the end of war, India's railways have achieved a considerable measure of success in rehabilitating themselves. Not only have the arrears of maintenance and replacement to a great extent been overcome, but the railways have made a good start in their five-year programme of development and consolidation.

Today the Indian railway system over which the Government enjoys an absolute monopoly has a route mileage of 34,000 miles and carries annually 1,255 million passengers and 92 million tons of goods. The gross earnings amount to Rs. 2,790 million and of this an annual contribution of about Rs. 330 million is made to the Indian exchequer. A total of Rs. 8,320 million capital has to date been invested in India's railways which operate a fleet of over 8,000 locomotives, over 31,650 passenger coaches and 225,000 goods wagons. They own a large number of workshops spread over the country. As an industrial undertaking they employ the largest number of workers—899,248—and their labour welfare services which include the provision of cheap foodstuffs, canteens, houses, hospitals, education, recreation and training facilities compare favourably with those in other countries.

The problem of restoring to normalcy a railway system of the magnitude just described was a complex one. Yet within the short period since the partition of the sub-continent, Indian railways have made a noteworthy recovery. They had turned the corner by the end of 1949 when the notorious "transport bottleneck" had begun to disappear.

The history of the abnormal back-log of maintenance and replacement can well be traced to the early 'thirties when the world-wide depression left its mark on the railways. The severe fall in earnings forced railways to reduce expenditure on works programmes and effect economies in the cost of operation.

In the first phase of the war, Indian railways were required to release locomotives, wagons and track material

for use on military projects in India and abroad. The entry of Japan into the war rendered it impossible for railways to obtain urgently needed equipment besides stretching the system almost to a breaking point.

The end of the war found railways struggling with power and stock which was quite inadequate to meet the demands made on them and even the standards of efficiency had been lowered considerably.

The post-war rehabilitation plans which the railways produced were stultified by the effects of partition in 1947. The shock of partition was great both in its severity and suddenness. Besides causing widespread dislocation, it put a severe strain on railways which had to transport at short notice over 2½ million refugees. Nearly 7,000 miles of railways fell to the share of India and rolling stock, stores, etc., were divided according to the Radcliffe Award.

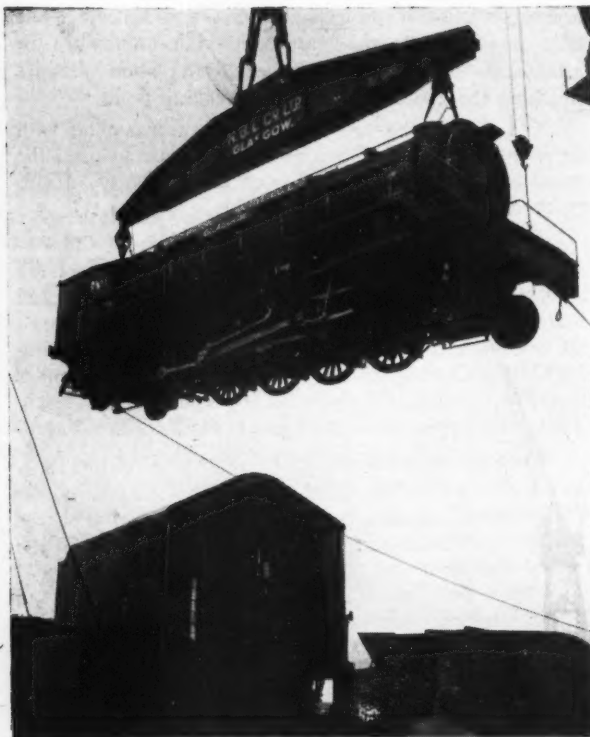
Since the partition and up to the end of March 1952, the railways would have spent as much as Rs. 1,650 million on capital account thereby increasing the capital-at-charge from Rs. 6,670 million in 1948 to Rs. 8,320 million at the end of March 1952. Another Rs. 1,018 million would have been withdrawn from the Depreciation Fund to finance renewals and replacements. During the same period Rs. 172 million were drawn from the Development Fund for providing amenities to passengers and for taking up projects considered unremunerative. Thus Indian railways incurred capital expenditure of as much as Rs. 2,840 million in the past four years. With this considerable capital outlay railways were able to re-equip the system, to take up a number of capital works and to generally raise the standard of service. Despite the large expenditure incurred so far, the Depreciation, Reserve and Development Funds are well stocked and the total balance to their credit would aggregate Rs. 1,610 million by the end of the current fiscal year.

Regarding the replacement of rolling stock, the



The Assembly Shop of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works which are now nearing completion





*The 92-ton railway engine built by the North British Locomotive Co. for the Indian State Railways, being loaded for its trip to India by the Port of London Authority's heavy lifter floating crane*

railways have imported large numbers of locomotives of designs evolved by engineers in India, from Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. During the period between partition and the end of March 1951, 741 new locomotives were put into commission. Concurrently through rationalisation in the working of locoshops, the number of engines under repair and routine maintenance has also been greatly reduced. The \$33 million loan from the World Bank also helped the Government over the difficulty of finding dollars to finance imports of locomotives from the United States and Canada.

A notable engineering achievement has been the establishment of the Chittranjan Locomotive Shop which has already gone into production with a target of completing 33 locomotives during the current year. After 1954 it will be turning out 120 locomotives a year, entirely of Indian manufacture.

Another factor which had impeded the building up of adequate capacity for the handling of traffic was the shortage of coaching and goods stock. Both the passen-

ger coaches and wagon position was eased a great deal during the last four years. By the end of March 1951 over 2,000 new coaches and nearly 12,800 new wagons were actually put on the line. Over the same period the Indian railways took steps for ensuring an uninterrupted flow of supplies from manufacturers in India and abroad. An agreement has been reached with a Swiss firm regarding technical aid for the establishment of workshops for the manufacture of all metal welded light-weight and telescopic coaching stock in India.

An index of the improvement in the wagon supply was the abolition of the war-time priority control over the movement of goods in 1949. In regard to passenger traffic, the problem of over-crowding in trains was tackled by the running of additional trains and of "Janata" expresses exclusively for third-class passengers. A number of new amenities for passengers have been provided and the over-crowding in trains has steadily diminished.

The various improvements and developments enumerated above have already begun to show results. For example, the number of passengers carried increased from 1,044 million in 1947-48 to 1,255 million in 1949-50 and the passenger miles from 33,649 million to 40,000 million. Similarly the freight originating on all railways rose from 73 million tons in 1947-48 to 92 millions in 1949-50 and freight ton-miles from 20,399 millions to 25,461 millions. More recently railways have performed efficiently the task of moving enormous stocks of food grains from ports to consuming centres.

Mention may also be made of certain welcome changes in administration which will go a long way towards securing efficiency in operation and economy in management. These comprise the appointment of a Railway Rates Tribunal, zonal regrouping of railways, vesting some 900 miles of former Indian States' railways with the Government and the inauguration of the revised financial Convention guaranteeing financial freedom to the railways for another five years.

The five-year railway rehabilitation programme estimated to cost Rs. 1,640 million was inaugurated in 1951. It envisages the replacement of 252 locomotives, 1,500 units of coaches and 12,000 wagons per year. The worsening of the international situation may not, however, enable the realisation of the physical targets in the given outlay. The Chief Commissioner of India's railways has recently visited a number of European countries to secure well in time and on a long-term basis requirements of rolling stock, spares and stores.

This, then, is the story of railway rehabilitation and technical re-equipment in India. At least one sector of India's economy is preparing itself for the vital role it will play in the future economic development of the country.

## Indonesia's Foreign Trade News

### INDONESIA—JAPAN

Following the break-down of trade negotiations between Indonesia and Japan, the Indonesian authorities have decided on limiting imports from Japan. During the period of the previous trade agreement Japan's exports to Indonesia had amounted to the value of 200 million Rupiah, while Indonesia's exports to Japan had reached only the value of 40 million Rupiah. The principal difficulty in the recent trade talks concerned the settlement of trade balances. Indonesia wanted to deal in sterling instead of dollars which had been demanded by Japan. Indonesia is eager to obtain goods, previously imported from Japan, from soft currency countries.

### INDONESIA—AUSTRALIA

The new trade agreement provides for Indonesia's exports of nearly £7 million-worth of rubber, timber, kapok, tea and coffee, representing an increase of nearly £2 million over last year's exports. Australia is to supply flour, metals, metal goods, machinery, chemists' supplies and food stuffs to a value of nearly £5 million, an increase of £1 million over the previous year.

### INDONESIA—SWEDEN

Swedish exports to Indonesia between March 1, 1951, and August 31, 1951, were valued at Kr. 19.4 million, showing a considerable increase as against the corresponding period of the previous year, when the value of the exports amounted to Kr. 9.2 million. Swedish businessmen are anxious to build up the Indonesian market.

### INDONESIA—WEST GERMANY

Recently a representative of the West German Government paid a visit to Indonesia. West Germany is anxious to increase trade with Indonesia, to import raw materials including tin, rubber and copra, and to export industrial products.

### INDONESIAN FOREIGN TRADE

	(million Rupiah)	
	1950	Jan.-July 1951
<i>Exports to :</i>		
United Kingdom	99.3	172.7
U.S.A.	446.7	454.3
Netherlands	665.1	559.4
<i>Imports from :</i>		
United Kingdom	112.2	86.2
U.S.A.	315.9	256.3
Netherlands	262.3	145.1

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# AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN PUNJAB

By Prof. J. A. Prescott (Adelaide)

**T**HE Thal is a region of sandy waste which covers the greater part of the area of the Sind Doab lying to the east of the Indus river and extending over the districts of Mianwali and Muzaffargarh and the Khushab Tehsil of the Shahpur district of the Punjab Province of Pakistan.

The suggestion that the waters of the Indus could be used for irrigating the Thal was first considered in 1870 but was deferred from time to time in favour of more urgent schemes making use of the waters of the Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi for lands east of these rivers. The rather sandy character of the soils of the Thal with its tendency to pile up into sand ridges also offered problems in management which were responsible in some measure for this deferment.

Work on the project was, however, begun in 1939 but suspended in 1942 on account of the difficulties caused by wartime conditions, but the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 and the associated arrival of refugee families from India into the Punjab, west of the Sutlej

south of Lahore, made the projected development a matter of some urgency. Most of the refugees were temporarily settled in the Lyallpur and Montgomery districts, the population of which increased by something like 25 per cent.

The area of the Thal covers some six million acres but the need of the Province of Sind for the waters of the Indus has to receive consideration and it is proposed, therefore, to restrict the development of the Thal to an area of two million acres of which 1.47 million will actually be commanded by the irrigation channels.

The Thal in its unirrigated state has an economy of its own. To the north it is bounded by the Salt Range and storm waters from this range are impounded locally and used to supplement the natural rainfall.

The flood plains of the Indus are also extensively used for a type of agriculture, with winter crops, known as *kacha* farming. The annual rainfall ranges from an average of about 12 inches in the north to 7 inches in the south. On the sandy soil, particularly in the north, the Thal permits of a certain amount of *barani*, or true dry farming with gram or chick-pea as the principal crop.

Under natural rainfall, however, the Thal is predominantly a pastoral region with sheep and goats as the main animals, but with some camel breeding as well. The area has always been noted as a grazing area for camels brought down from Afghanistan during the winter months.

Perennial irrigation will become possible from the new canals and the crops likely to be grown will be those at present cultivated in the main agricultural areas of Punjab which, in the order of present acreage, are wheat, gram, cotton, bulrush millet, maize and sorghum as standard crops, with berseem clover and field vetch as forage crops. Sugar cane is also likely to be grown. The crop rotations proposed for the new farms in the Thal envisage wheat, cotton and gram as the principal crops.

The irrigation project comprises in the main the Jinnah barrage across the Indus, downstream of Kalabagh which diverts water into one main canal on the east side of the river. This Main Line Canal bifurcates south of Mianwali to give an eastern branch canal round the base of the Salt Range, and a southern extension known as the Main Line Lower Canal. The eastern branch is known as the Mohajir or Refugee Canal. Because of the permeable nature of the soils of the Thal these main

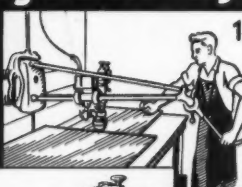
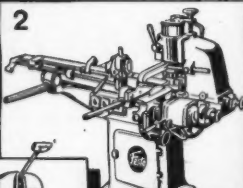
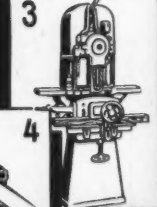
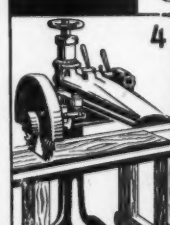
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① Polishing machine

② Tenoning machine

③ Chain mortising machine

④ Parallel saw



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canals are lined with cement and faced with burnt bricks or tiles. Brick kilns belonging to the responsible government departments are a conspicuous feature of the present landscape in the area.

The earlier stages of development of the Thal project appear to have outstripped the demand for land, in addition to which there was a general prejudice against the area. In 1949 more than half of the new irrigation channels were choked with sand, and there was growing a general impression that canal irrigation was not suited to the local conditions. In order to meet the urgent need for land settlement, to carry out development work subsequent to the establishment of the irrigation system, and to finance the incoming settlers the Thal Development Act was promulgated by the Government of West Punjab in July 1949 and the Thal Development Authority set up in Lahore with its constitution and mode of operation fully defined by February 1950. The objective of this Authority is to secure the balanced and harmonious development of the Thal area and to synchronise land settlement with the extension of irrigation facilities. It is an agency of the Government of the Punjab and works under the chairmanship of Mr. Bafarul Ahsan. For its senior executive officers it has permanent advisers in animal husbandry, agriculture, engineering and land settlement. The authority handles construction and transport, housing, tree planting along roads and canals and in forest reserves, the development of agriculture and animal husbandry and the establishment of health, educational and co-operative services. The aim is to achieve the maximum development of irrigation by 1956-57 for the winter (*Rabi*) crops and 1968-69 for the summer (*Kharif*) crops. It is expected the water will eventually be available for 816,000 acres of winter crops and 350,000 acres of summer crops.

The development to date has been shared by the provincial Irrigation Branch which is responsible for the Irrigation Project proper with its main canals, distributaries and minor canals, by the Public Works Department which is responsible for the Thal Roads Project and by the Thal Development Authority. The Irrigation Project has in hand 226 miles of main line canals of which 144 miles were lined in March 1951; 1,550 miles of distributaries and minor canals are projected much of which construction is already completed. The total cost of this project is Rs. 155 million.

A further projected development is the construction of a hydro-electric scheme at Mianwali. The main canal supplying the Thal canals has a capacity of 10,000 cusecs of which it is only permissible to use 6,000 cusecs for irrigation. At Mianwali, therefore, before the canal enters the Thal proper it is proposed to return the surplus water to the Indus through a fall of 38 feet. The power available is expected to be of the order of 21,500 kilowatts.

(To be concluded).

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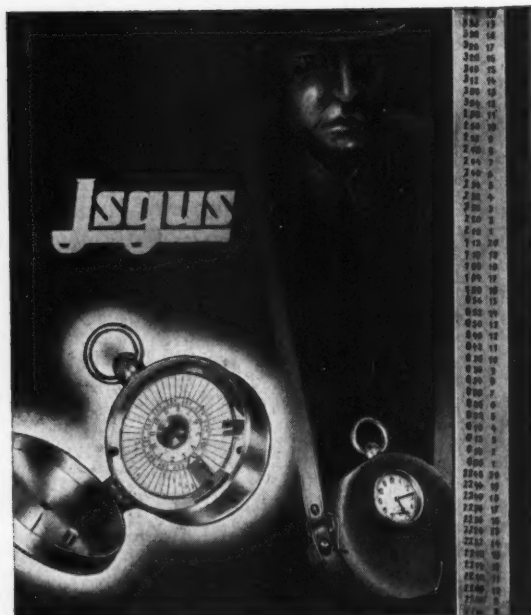
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## Japanese Shipbuilding Industry

**D**URING the last quarter of 1951 the Japanese shipbuilding yards were able to secure a number of orders from abroad which they consider very important to keep the yards going. At the end of September 1951 the Japanese shipbuilding yards had 80 merchant ships, 448,135 tons gross under construction (as against 520,600 tons at the end of June), including only 3 ships of 29,500 tons for registration abroad.

During the last quarter the Japanese shipbuilding yards received an order from The Standard Vacuum Oil Company for the construction of two oil tankers of 22,500 dwt. each, as well as orders for one of 18,500 dwt., another of 24,000 dwt., from a Panamanian and a Liberian firm respectively. In addition, American firms placed orders for five ships and a Norwegian firm for one ship totalling 138,300 dwt. to the value of 9,500 yen (see *Bank of Tokyo Report* of October 20, 1951). This Report stresses that these orders from abroad, even though Japanese current prices quoted by this industry are 5 to 10 per cent higher than those quoted by British shipyards, are due to the fact that Japanese shipbuilding yards are promising short delivery terms.

The Japanese shipbuilding industry, in addition to being an export industry, has the task of rebuilding Japan's merchant navy. During the period 1932-1936, net earnings from shipping averaged about 42 million dollars annually, more than off-setting the deficits of Japan's commodity trade. Japan's merchant fleet, which amounted in the middle thirties to about 4.5 million tons, of which about 3.3 million tons were suitable for overseas trade, increased to 6.7 million gross tons in 1941, but dropped to about 1.6 million tons of which only about half were serviceable and only a small fraction suitable for overseas trade, at the end of the war. But already by the end of 1949 1.7 million tons were serviceable, including 400,000 tons capable of overseas service.

The main difficulty in increasing Japan's merchant navy consists in the raising of the necessary funds. According to a plan worked out last November in connection with the second half of the seventh shipbuilding programme, it was decided to cut this programme by 50,000 to 150,000 gross tons. It is expected to finance this project in part with 3,500 million yen for the current fiscal year from the U.S. Counter-part Fund. The Fund will be allocated in such a way as to subsidize 32,000-36,000 yen for each ton of the freighters and 26,000 for oil tankers. However, it appears questionable whether private banks would be able to supply the rest of the expenses needed by the prospective shipbuilders, which are estimated to amount to about 7,000 million yen for the fiscal year (*Bank of Tokyo Report*, November 17, 1951).

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# INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN PAKISTAN

By Howard Fox

**T**HE *per capita* consumption of steel in any country can provide a reliable criterion of how far that country is industrialised and powerful. For example, the *per capita* consumption of the United States, and the United Kingdom is, respectively, 855 lb. and 594 lb. The figure for Pakistan is very low indeed and every effort is being made by the Government in co-operation with private enterprise to force it up.

No figures are available in this country concerning the amount of steel used in Pakistan. This may be surprising but it is true. However, no one in a position to give a considered opinion doubts that the consumption of steel per head of the population is but a fraction of one ton.

There seems to be no chance of Pakistan dispensing with industrial imports at any time for the basic raw materials for large-scale industrialisation are lacking. Iron ore deposits are not very large. The only accessible deposit of the ore is an earthy hematite in the Surban Hill area near Abbotabad. The calculated reserve of ore in this place has been put at a million tons. A useful quantity of iron ore has been found in Chitral but, at the moment, this is inaccessible. Here, the deposits consist of magnetite and are reckoned to hold some 60 million tons. The iron ore deposits which have been reported to exist in the Chagai district of Baluchistan need further survey before estimates can be made as to quality and quantity.

Coal is found in Baluchistan and the Pakistan sector of the Punjab but it is of an inferior quality; highly volatile, high in sulphur content, and therefore unsuitable for coking and use in iron ore smelting.

On the other hand, limestone is plentiful in almost every part of the country. Good quality chrome is available in Baluchistan, and about four million tons of manganese ore was discovered not long ago in Lasbela State. Refractory clays of adequate quality for use in the making of steel furnace linings have, however, not been located.

Therefore, both the blast furnace work and electric smelting are unsuitable for Pakistan, at all events for the present and foreseeable future. Only the low-temperature process appears to offer Pakistan a way to a satisfactory level of self-based industrialisation.

In carrying through the development of this basic industry the Government is bearing in mind the recommendations made by the mission of experts from the U.S.A., which toured both sectors of Pakistan beginning in December 1949.

The country's engineering industry is mostly confined to West Pakistan; a few factories dealing with metals are in the Eastern sector. One of the features of the industry is that different towns specialise in the manufacture of different products; Lahore for steel rolling, engines, oil expellers, agricultural and machine tools; Gujranwala for water fittings, safes, electric fans and utensils; Sialkot for surgical instruments, guns and rubber articles; Wazirabad for cutlery; Gujrat for fans; Karachi for electric lamps, fans, steel structures, wire netting, rubber articles, and ship repairs.

It is worth remarking that there is a considerable sports goods industry at Sialkot although since the division of the sub-continent those involved have declined from 20,000 to about 10,000. This is mainly a cottage industry for only five factories are of any size. The products are of excellent quality and can be sold at competitive prices not only within Pakistan but also abroad. The United Kingdom market is greatly valued.

In some form or other the machine tool industry has been functioning in the Punjab for more than a century but since the war and later, the founding of Pakistan, the demand for more and improved lathes has risen steeply.

The ability to cope with this expansion today mainly exists because of the wartime installations and personnel training, a fact admitted by the very recent publication in Pakistan of an encyclopaedic study, *Industry in Pakistan*, which points out that "Pakistan was lucky having a fairly good supply of skilled labour for the machine tool industry, the most vital key industry for the industrialisation of any country."

The position now is that one Lahore firm can produce lathes of a quality to compare favourably with those imported. This firm is in a position to make centre lathes of all types ranging from 6 ins. to 12 ins. centre height and 6 feet to 12 feet bed length; all-g geared stock-lathes are being manufactured for the first time in Pakistan in this undertaking.

Band and circular saw machines for the forest industry are being turned out in excellent quality. Other machine tools made in Pakistan are admitted by Government authorities to lack at present the required quality, accuracy, and performance standards although every head is being given to manufacturers to carry out improvement.

As to oil engines, vital to a country as lacking developed coal resources as Pakistan, there are more than 50 small and medium sized factories in Lahore producing horizontal slow-speed oil engines. Total productivity of these firms is about 1,000 engines per year. The die

engines produced range from six to 50 h.p. single cylinder. Some firms are also making 10 to 25 h.p. single-cylinder engines of the arch bulb type, and practically all the components are made by the firms themselves.

Standardisation in this branch of industry is essential if rapid and economical horse-power expansion is to be brought to the nation's industries as a whole. For this reason, the Department of Supply and Development has prepared a specification and manufacturers have taken steps to install production and testing equipment in order fully to comply with the standards drawn up. In consequence there has lately been a definite improvement in performance and general quality of engines. According to the latest information on this point, a Test House is to be established in Lahore, in accordance with a Government-sanctioned scheme, for testing engine performance prior to sale.

The drive towards standardisation has also made itself felt in the production of electric fans. Here again, a new specification has been introduced to enable the makers to turn out a capacitor type fan of the latest design. This has a low power consumption although

yielding a high rate of air displacement. One firm in Lahore and another in Sukkur are producing table fans which will shortly be available on the market.

In the field of rubber goods manufacture, cycle tyres and tubes have attracted the especial attention of industrialists, several of whom have noted the huge potential demand. Two firms, one at Lahore, the other at Karachi, have established plants to produce four million tyres and 8,700,000 tubes a year. Another firm in Karachi has succeeded in manufacturing vacuum brake hose to the essential standard and has enough plant capacity to be able to export hose pipes after meeting all present local demands.

The possibility of Japanese firms setting up factories in the country, in conjunction with local capital, for the manufacture of diesel engines, electrical motors, transformers and refractories was, in fact, explored by the Pakistani mission which visited Japan not long ago. Visits were then paid to important industrial centres in Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Kobe and Kyoto. Members also toured the various research institutes, technical training centres and industrial exhibitions run by the central and prefectural governments and by private bodies.

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## INSURANCE IN THE FAR EAST (IV)

By L. Delgado

**I**N India we have a much brighter picture of insurance, though not unrelieved by some sombre colouring. Indigenous insurance in India is done by a host of small companies, most of them working in the three classes of fire, accident and marine. There are several concerns which occupy themselves solely with motor insurance and some with country crafts. Most of these companies are doing too small a turnover to give them any standing, and some have already run into difficulties. There are, however, a small number of companies whose volume of business justifies the view that they are well-established concerns, competently managed, and with great potentialities for the future. The smaller companies cannot be dismissed as of no importance since they at least provide a training ground in insurance management and administration. India is a land of vast potentialities, in insurance as in other things.

The first purely Indian company was the Indian Life Assurance Office, established in 1869: its policy holders were almost entirely European residents. The second Indian company to be formed was the Oriental Government Security Life Association. It started business in Bombay, its speciality being the insurance of indigenous lives (mainly Parsees, Hindus, Moslems, and Eurasians)

on European rates. It must be noted, however, that the Company dealt in *selected* lives only, the low general standard of life precluding any large-scale business in native life.

Insurance legislation in India seems to be satisfactory. It is aimed at curing evils to which Indian insurance has been subject. There have been two main problems, those connected with administration, and those concerned with management. Among the former have been such undesirable developments as the acquisition of insurance companies by financiers whose object was a quick return, the interlocking of funds between banks and insurance companies, and such malpractices as the use of life insurance funds for other purposes. Among factors of management needing reform mention may be made of excessive administrative costs, rebating, and unsatisfactory standards of management.

All life funds are controlled and must be invested in approved securities in the proportions required by law. The employment of firms as managers is prohibited, as also the use of part-time employees. The payment of commission in any form to managers or officers is prohibited, and a return has to be made periodically to the Central Government of remuneration to employees.

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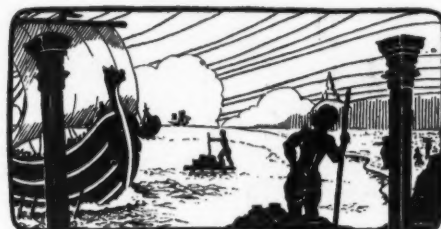
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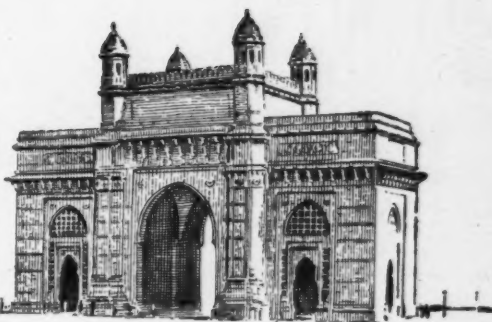
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agents. The government can restrain any payment which is found to be disproportionate to the resources of the company under normal standards.

The latest Insurance Act requires the creation of an Insurance Association of India, of which every Indian insurer is required to be a member and every foreign insurer an associate member. The aim of the Association is to set up a standard of conduct and of sound practice, and not to fix rates.

These measures are not unnecessary since the growth of indigenous insurance has probably been too rapid to be healthy. In 1921 there were 23 Indian companies transacting life business only, and 16 Indian companies carrying on non-life or a composite business. This number grew in 1946 to 104 and 90 respectively. At the end of 1950 the number of insurance companies in India was 341, of which 235 were Indian and the rest non-Indian. One hundred and thirty-five Indian companies were transacting life business only, 50 were engaged in life and other classes and 50 in purely non-life business. The corresponding figures for non-Indian insurers were five, 15 and 86 respectively.

The bulk of the British Companies' business has been and still is obtained through what we may call principal agents. There are also large concerns engaged in a variety of activities—cotton mills, jute mills, tea estates, coal mines, forestry, etc.—who undertake insurance for third parties in addition to covering their own needs. British companies have established branch offices in the

principal centres and there is a close liaison between these branches and the agents, though some of the latter still report direct to London. The native Indian companies have tended to develop their business primarily by branches, rather than by agency representation. There are also sub-agents, canvassers, and a few brokers, whose remuneration, as we have noted, is limited by legislation or by tariff rules. These pass their business to the companies either through principal agents or direct to the companies' branches, and in the case of Indian companies to their head offices. The agency organisation thus differs widely from that of the United Kingdom, and the brokers particularly do not render the same sort of service as those of this country.

With the great influence that British insurance companies have had, it is not surprising to find that there is the same sort of central control in India as there is in Great Britain. There are associations, to which all the tariff companies belong, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, the oldest being the Bombay Fire Insurance Association, formed over 75 years ago. These bodies concern themselves with fire, marine and accident business, dealing with rates and with the general conduct of business. Nearly all fire business—but not marine—is tarified. Of the accident business, only motor and workmen's compensation are conducted on tariff lines.

In 1948 the volume of business in India was Rs. 9,84,84,41,000, of which 53 per cent. was fire, 27 per cent. accident, and 20 per cent. marine. Business was success-

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ful: profit from fire and accident gave an average yield of 13.44 per cent. to relative premium income. Dividends were disappointing, but there is a dividend limitation act in operation, and this may have accounted for some of the reduction that took place in that year.

The accounts of 62 companies are analysed in a recent number of the *London Insurance Review*. Of these, only five were established before 1914 and 27 before the second world war. Their total capital was Rs. 6,97,05,739; general reserves amounted to Rs. 2,86,73,405 and underwriting reserves to Rs. 6,97,83,975; the ratio of reserves to capital was 1.71. Total premium income was Rs. 9,84,41,259 (Rs. 5,22,74,750 from fire, Rs. 2,64,74,450 from accident, and Rs. 1,96,92,058 from marine). Dividends accounted for Rs. 26,43,206.

So far as the reinsurance market is concerned, it is the Swiss Reinsurance Company that is now in an unshakable position, though Scandinavian firms participate in life, fire and marine reinsurance. While previously the business was 100 per cent. reinsured in Great Britain, contacts have been established not only with Switzerland and Scandinavia, but also with other west European markets. There is heavy competition for the business, which forces up commission rates. Life business is in the first place reinsured between Indian companies, and next through British general agencies. The best Indian business is in the province of Madras.

There is a school of thought in India that believes that insurance companies (as well as banks) should not extend

their operations abroad until the home position has been soundly consolidated. It is argued that before permission is given to a company to operate abroad, the Government should be satisfied that there is a reasonable prospect of profitable business. The principle of stability is so important, but it is not certain that the Government is the best judge of when and how to operate in a foreign market. This is the job of the entrepreneur, who should be rewarded by profits when his judgment is right and penalised by losses when he is wrong. The Central Government has already exercised a restrictive function when it refused to authorise the transfer of funds necessary for an insurance company to do business in Malaya.

So far as Pakistan is concerned, the number of indigenous insurers is very small. In 1949, the number was out of which six transacted life insurance. It is the policy of the Government to encourage the growth of insurance, but it is determined to stop the growth of mushroom concerns. The number of non-Pakistan insurers was 72 in 1949, of which 33 were United Kingdom companies, 19 Indian, and six American.

It will be remembered that while India devalued its currency, Pakistan did not. This raised a number of problems in the insurance field, especially in determining the currency in which claims on policies issued by foreign companies before partition should be paid. Many British and Canadian life offices have paid in Pakistan currency, giving a further example of the breadth of view with which the insurance business is generally conducted.

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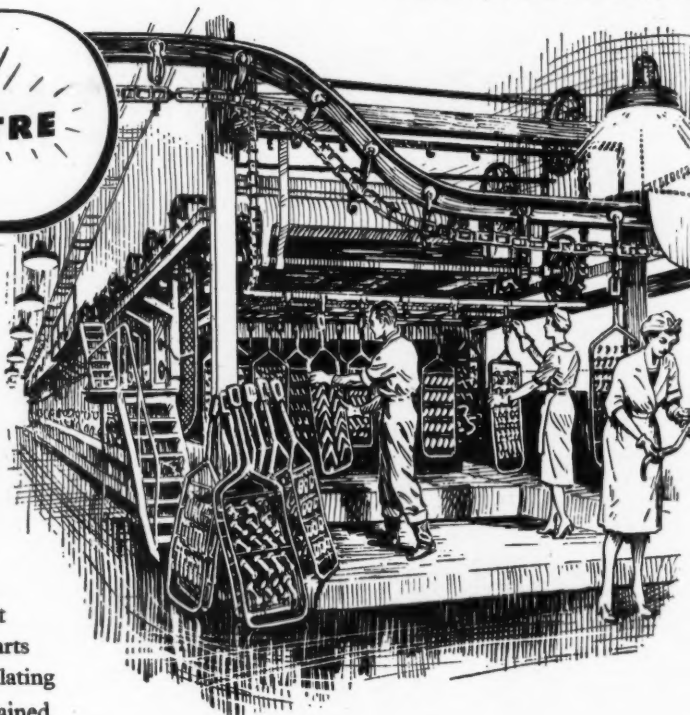
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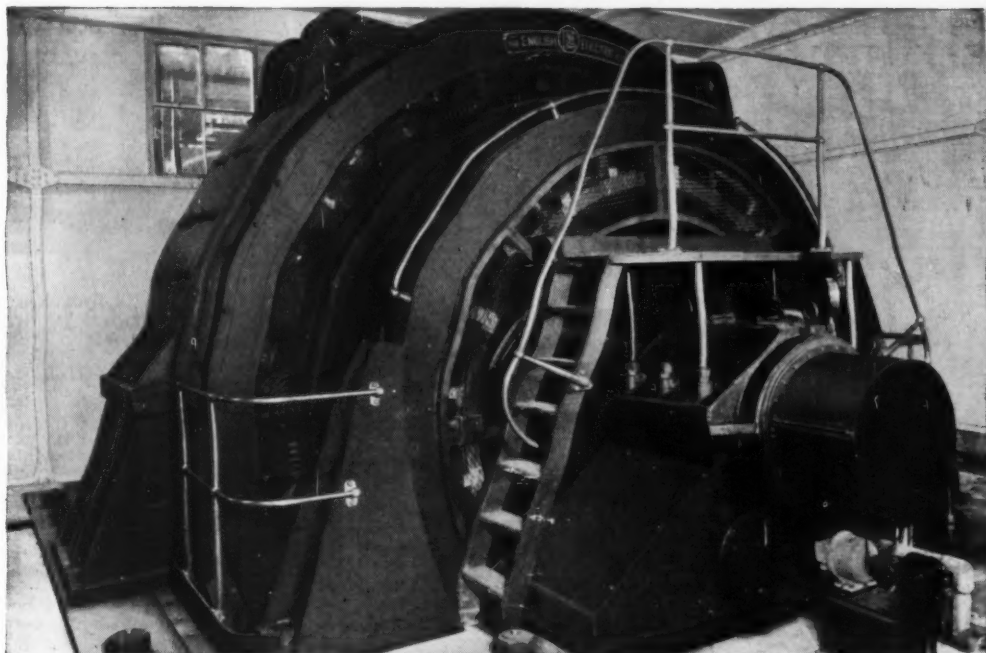
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